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South Asian Figurines in the British Museum: Literature Review and Analysis

A study of the human terracotta figurines of Colonel D. H. Gordon, Colonel D. R. Martin and others located in the collections of the British Museum.

Volume 1 of 2

The main body of the thesis

Written by Matthew Gregory Wiecek

For the Master of Arts by Research in Archaeology

In the Department of Archaeology at Durham University

Submitted 19 September 2012

Supervised by

Derek Kennet and Robin Skeates

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Abstract

In the early twentieth century in British India, many military officers were also amateur archaeologists. Some of them, including Colonel D.H. Gordon and Colonel D.R. Martin, collected human terracotta figurines. The figurines in this collection came from the northwest of pre-partition India, mostly from villages in the vicinity of Peshawar in Pakistan. They were bought from farmers or antiquities dealers. Thus this is a surface collection. The figurines were then sold or donated to the British Museum. There they were stored without being studied.

This purpose of this thesis is two-fold: 1) to review the literature on South Asian human figurines, and 2) to analyze and interpret a collection of figurines that has not so far been published. The analysis includes a description of the characteristics of the figurines, and interpretations of their functions and meanings. There are four major types of figurines, based on decorations and facial features: Sar Dheri, Sahri Bahlol, Hellenistic and “other”. The Sar Dheri figurines with rosettes may represent an unknown folk deity as the decorations are not the symbol of any deity that appears in Hindu, Jain or Buddhist mythology. The Sahri Bahlol figurines greatly resemble those figurines identified as Naigameśīs in other excavation reports. The analysis ends by proposing further research in South Asian terracotta figurines that would lead to a detailed history of the evolution of figurines in South Asia from Mehrgarh to the present.

Acknowledgements

The following people all contributed to the creation of this thesis. Derek Kennet and Robin Skeates supervised the thesis with all the advice and feedback that it entails. Michael Willis gave a large amount of advice and a week of his time for a visit to the figurines in the British Museum, as well as access to the museum’s library. Nick Barnard of the Victoria and Albert Museum arranged a visit to see manuscripts not available elsewhere and pointed out relevant books. Jennifer Tremblay provided the use of her Master’s thesis from Durham University which proved to be essential. E. Leigh Syms of the Manitoba Museum provided research experience that has left its mark on this thesis. Penelope Wilson and Julia Shaw examined the thesis and provided much valuable feedback, as did Rose Kuzina who provided editorial services.

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1.0 Introduction

In every part of India today, human terracotta figurines are an integral part of the local culture. They play an important part in Hindu religious practices, and there are many examples of figurines being offered to deities (Huyler 1996). In addition to their ubiquity, they have a very ancient history. The first figurines ever found in this part of the world are from the first occupation of the site known as Mehrgarh, dated to 7000 B.C. Over the next 9,000 years, terracotta figurines would remain a constant in Indian material culture. The vast majority of excavations in all parts of South Asia have discovered figurines. This makes them a key part of the archaeological record. Today their great significance shows no sign of abating.

The British Museum's collection is gigantic, and the Asia department alone includes a wide variety of ceramics, lithics, sculptures and other items. The problem is that many artefacts, including figurines, remain unpublished and unstudied. Museums always have more work than curators. This results in artefacts being acquired and put in storage where they sit forgotten for decades. When artefacts are not studied, no one benefits from the insights to be gained and no one outside the museum knows they exist. One example of this is a collection in the basement of the British Museum. One cabinet has its drawers filled with terracotta Indian figurines which have been there since 1936; no one has had time to study them. When these figurines were acquired, they were placed in the cabinet and sorted into drawers according to which ones look similar to each other. This thesis is about the 170 figurines found in the top two drawers. The figurines are from a variety of cultures, including the Indus Valley Civilization, the Indo-Greeks, and one or more unknown cultures. They are from a period that might span a thousand years, which includes the arrival of the Mauryans and Indo-Greeks. They are specific instances of a craft that goes back 9,000 years.

This master's thesis sets out to provide a comprehensive review of the literature on human terracotta figurines in South Asia, and provide an interpretation of the functions and meanings of the figurines. The research will review relevant excavation reports and previous work on the interpretation of figurines before providing new interpretations that build on the previous work. It will address, as much as possible, the following questions: What is the function of these figurines? What is the meaning of these figurines? What is their chronology?

This thesis is divided into two volumes: Volume 1 consists of the main body of the thesis, while Volume 2 contains maps, a timeline and a catalogue of the figurines. This enables the reader to have maps of India and Pakistan open while reading geographical references in the first volume, and have the catalogue open while reading the references to the figurines.

1.1 Purpose and Scope

This master's thesis will study and analyze a collection of 170 human terracotta human figurines in the British Museum. They are a surface collection, collected by collectors, antique dealers and farmers in northern Pakistan when it was British India. Some resemble Greek figurines in style, and a few are classic examples of Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) figurines that have been found at many sites in India, dating from 2600 to 1900 B.C.). For the latter, excavation reports give the locations of discovery, but a lack of primary context and unanswered questions about that civilization make it hard to guess what the function of the figurines might be. A few of the figurines are identical to those found at Rājghāt and Ahicchatrā. They are referred to as the Sahri Bahlol figurines, to borrow the term from the British Museum's catalogue. However, the associated reports also do not provide information useful to chronology or function. Many of the figurines are identical to those excavated at and around Chārsadda, and one group is of a unique style that is localized to a small area and not found anywhere else. The British Museum calls them the Sar Dheri figurines. Those excavated at Chārsadda were never found in any primary context, thus determining function is not possible. But there is enough information to put their date at sometime in the first millennium BC.

Unfortunately not much more can be said with certainty regarding the figurines. This research will thus attempt to answer three questions: What is the context of the artefacts? What is the chronology of the artefacts? What is the function of the artefacts? To answer those questions, this study will examine the figurines in the assigned collection. Then a comprehensive review of the literature related to the subject will be provided. Finally, that literature will be used as the foundation of the analysis to answer the three questions.

This is not a new look at well-studied material; this is the first look at material whose significance is basically unknown. The British Museum's online catalogue has some information on these figurines, but the data is incomplete and some of the date ranges appear to be incorrect. Only a few subjects within the field of figurine studies will be treated in depth although as many subjects as possible will be acknowledged. Within the literature review, some sections will arrive at a conclusion and other sections will simply state the work that needs to be done. Rationales for inclusion and exclusion of subjects will be explained whenever necessary.

After the introduction, the first step in the presentation of the research is to present the dataset. In this case, that means a thorough description of the figurine collection. The longest running theme in the thesis is comparative analysis. The specimens in this collection have little to no contextual information, not even the most basic information archaeologists expect to have. Therefore it is necessary to compare them with other figurines (an idea previously mentioned in Codrington 1931). This is based on the idea that if something is true about one artefact, then it might be true of a similar artefact. The first step in a comparative analysis is to present the data set. In this case, this means a thorough survey of the existing literature on South Asian figurines. This is the purpose of Chapter 3. However, simply having figurines that look similar is not enough. Chapter 4 provides a rigorous set of principles that enable the researcher to determine which similarities are connections and which are coincidences.

The second great theme of the thesis is the function and meaning of figurines, of which there is a variety of potential sources of information. Chapter 5 reviews previous research related to the idea of meaning in the context of terracotta figurines. It concludes by laying out the definition of meaning that is used in the analysis and interpretation in the thesis. The next chapter, Chapter 6, is about the use of Hindu mythological literature to identify artefacts, and whether mythological literature can be used to interpret the thesis collection. Chapter 7 provides discussion of religious interpretations, a potential function/meaning that appears frequently in archaeological literature. Chapter 8 is about other approaches to extracting information from figurines, including analysis of fragmentation and laboratory methods.

1.2 How the Artefacts Were Found and Stored

The figurines in the collection were gathered in British India in the early 20th century. The figurines were found in the Northwest Frontier Province/Punjab, with specific sites including Sar Dheri, Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar, Harappa, Mingora, Ter, Akra, Bala Hissar, Akhkari Dheri, Mathura, Chārsadda, Utmanzai, Taxila and the Zhob River. The number of figurines from each site ranges from one to dozens.

The military officers of that time and place were very interested in archaeology, and many gathered a great many artefacts. Their work was tremendously productive, as “the full debt of archaeology to military fieldwork may never be known” (Allchin 1960). They would buy figurines from antiquities dealers and farmers, and perhaps collect their own surface finds. This is how the figurines in this thesis were collected; none were excavated. Over decades of service in India the officers built great personal collections, which through donation and purchase made their way to various museums. Two of these officers, Colonel Gordon and Colonel Martin, donated and sold hundreds of figurines to the British Museum. These figurines now sit in drawers in the basement, unexamined and unpublished. The purpose of this master's thesis is to rectify that deficiency by examining and publishing a collection of these human terracotta figurines collected by some of these British officers.

The figurines described in this thesis were collected in the Northwest Frontier Province and the Punjab province of British India in the early 20th century by a few British colonels and others (see Map 1, Appendix A – site locations are highlighted in red). The figurines found their way to the British Museum's collections by donation and purchase over a period from 1936 to 1979, which was the way the museum acquired artefacts. The figurines were placed in two drawers based on their similarities at first glance, and no further analysis was performed until now.

These transactions could be with anyone who had an object of value and thought it would be of interest to the museum. The history of the India collection begins this way in 1786 when Charles Bathurst donated an alabaster Śiva līṅga (Willis 1997: 250). Little was collected over the next 70 years. No one recognized Asian art as art, and there was no importance attached to the acquisition of such items. However, that attitude would change. The Romantic interest in exotic cultures raised an interest in Asian art (Willis 1997: 251), and a number of individuals began amassing collections of Indian art and brought them to the museum. One very important early collector was Charles Stuart who lived in Calcutta and built a museum in his house that included statues, books, prints, weaponry and costumes (Willis 1997: 252). When Stuart died, his collected was auctioned off by his heirs, and many sculptures were purchased by John Bridge. He and his brother maintained the collection in their own private museum. It was acquired for the British Museum by Augustus Wollaston Franks.

Franks made an enormous contribution to the museum's India collections, expanding it from the mere footnote it initially was into a collection unsurpassed in the world (Willis 1997). When the India Museum was dissolved Franks had its sculptures transferred to the British Museum. He spoke to Robert Sewell, Director of the Survey of Ancient Monuments in Madras, about acquiring more objects for the museum. The result was the Secretary of State of India dispatching two reliefs to London (Willis 1997: 258). Franks also acquired the collection of Sir Alexander Cunningham who established the Archaeological Survey of India, and gathered many individual pieces for the museum. That tradition of acquisition would continue well after Franks' retirement.

When the figurines that are the subject of this thesis were donated or sold to the British Museum, the staff member receiving them asked the donor where they were found. Every location in the British Museum's catalogue was as reported by the donor. The reliability of this information varies. Colonel Gordon's information is considered by the author to be quite reliable because he published academic journal articles and was therefore a scholarly officer. Some of the donors were not the collectors. Therefore the people reporting the locations were not involved with the collecting, and in the absence of notes or articles it is not known whether such information was recorded or recalled years later by someone who was not there. In this thesis, the location as reported in the British Museum's catalogue is considered to be less reliable.

1.3 List of Collectors and Donors

The vast majority of figurines featured in this thesis were gathered by British military officers while serving in British India; a few civilians contributed as well. Many of these amateur collectors sold many of the artefacts. This raises the question: were they interested in the artefacts' archaeological value or their monetary value? The vast majority of the figurines are incomplete and missing parts so it may be possible they were not chosen for any potential monetary gain. The most elaborately decorated figurines are the Sar Dheri figurines that have rosettes. These were collected by Burn (2), Deane (2), Martin (12) and Gordon (2). In the cases of Martin and Gordon, they comprise a small part of a varied collection. In the cases of Burn and Deane, they are the majority of their small collections. With the exception of Gordon, there is no information available that would shed light on their thoughts. Therefore the question of what motivated them to collect is open. Gordon definitely had a strong scholarly interest, but his sales to the Victoria and Albert Museum show he gave some thought to money. Martin collected enough plain and broken figurines so he may have had some scholarly interest. The other persons seem to have focussed on collecting figurines that would sell well or look good, or their donors donated only what they thought would be beautiful enough for the British Museum.

Table 1: Completeness of figurines	
Collector	Completion
Colonel D.H. Gordon	6/38
Colonel D.R. Martin	6/113
Prof. Ernst Herzfeld	1/1
Sir Harold Arthur Deane	1/3
Maj.-Gen. J. Steuart-Gratton	0/1
Colonel A.H. Burn	0/3
P.A.J. Hall	0/1
H.G. Beard	1/1
Mrs. P. Birch	0/1
Mrs. C.C. Chambers	0/1
Douglas Eric Barrett	0/1

The amount of biographical information about the collectors and donors varies wildly. Thanks to his publications and archival records, Colonel D.H. Gordon is very well documented, while for other persons no information is available. All biographical information is from the British Museum's online catalogue¹. To place the artefacts in a geographical context, Map 1 in Volume 2 indicates the locations of the most productive areas which are highlighted in red.

Colonel Douglas Hamilton Gordon (1895-1961)² was a British officer and amateur archaeologist who gathered artefacts from the various parts of India where he was stationed. Based on his publications and correspondence, he collected the figurines sometime in the 1920s and 1930s. He was a major collector of Indian antiquities, like many British military officers of that time. His finds include dozens of terracotta figurines, stone sculptures, and other artefacts. A significant part of the Thesis collection was collected by Gordon while he was stationed in India. Gordon was a very scholarly man, and what sets him apart from the other collectors are his many publications. Gordon did not simply collect antiquities; he wrote articles about them that were published in academic journals. We therefore have more information about his figurines than anyone else's. He donated many artefacts, which included lithics and terracotta figurines, to the Institute of Archaeology in the 1950s, and they were subsequently donated to the British Museum. Gordon also sold and donated many figurines to the Victoria and Albert Museum, which houses a significant part of his collection. The museum's archives also keep a file of their correspondence with the colonel and records of purchases from him. He visited different museums as part of his research, and in an article about the Peshawar Museum, made this comment: "Three specimens from the Peshawar Museum which I regard as being of outstanding importance are also included" (Gordon 1934: 55). He also identified artefacts coming from Akra, a city in Pakistan south of Peshawar (Gordon 1934). His wife, Mrs. D.H. Gordon,³ donated some of the artefacts in this sample. After her husband's death, she was in frequent correspondence with the

¹ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx

² http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=140692

³ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=140691

Victoria and Albert Museum (Gordon n.d.) and the British Museum regarding the acquisition of her husband's remaining collection.

Gordon wrote several books and numerous articles and reviews, published mostly in *Man* (Gordon: 1934, 1935) and *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Britain and Ireland* (Gordon: 1932). It appears he worked at Sar Dheri whenever he was posted in the Northwest Frontier Province, as he wrote "...and the writer will next spring again be stationed within a few miles of it" (Gordon 1935: 181). Gordon gave a detailed description of the Sar Dheri site from which he collected terracotta figurines.

"Eighteen miles to the North-East of Peshawar is situated the village of Chārsadda, identified with Puṣkalavātī, the Peukaliotis of the Greeks. Here on all sides lies a profusion of artificial mounds or dheris, the sites of ancient habitation. The site, Sari Dheri, is about 50 yards to the north of the main Chārsadda-Mardan road, just behind the village of Shekho, about four and a half miles from Chārsadda [northeast of Peshawar]. It consists of two large mounds, but it is only the western one that yields the terra-cottas recorded in this article; the other mound appears to be sterile" (Gordon 1932: 163).

These artefacts from Sar Dheri were not excavated. When the sugar cane farmers prepared their fields for planting, they would dig up a variety of ancient artefacts which they would try to sell. However, few people bought the terracotta figurines, so they were thrown away in favour of stone head artefacts (Gordon 1932: 163). "...what information one can glean from the villagers points to the fact that many of the primitive heads are discovered at higher levels than the dateable Greek heads" (Gordon 1935: 117).

An unpublished manuscript (Gordon n.d.) with Gordon's name on it is located in a box in the Victoria and Albert Museum; the pages are loose and unnumbered. The manuscript consists of a catalogue containing a few short essays about a variety of archaeological subjects. Other essays are about stone and metal artefacts. The second last essay is about jewellery and seals from the Indus Valley Civilization, and the last essay is on recent figurines and forgeries of ancient figurines. In the essay pencilled as Nos. 128-220, Gordon wrote, "As yet, however, it is quite impossible to recognize a Kuṣāṇa type of terracotta, such as would enable anyone to classify an object if presented singly" (Gordon n.d.). He then said his dates are by inference only. In the next paragraph, he said Gupta figurines can receive more certain dates because of their similarity with sculptures. He criticized Agrawala's claim that certain unpleasant looking figurines have foreign ethnic features, calling it completely subjective. This is quite relevant, as dating is a very important issue in studying this thesis collection.

The second largest contributor to the thesis collection was Colonel D.R. Martin⁴ (b. 20th century, last known correspondence May 1966). He was a British soldier and amateur archaeologist who collected surface finds of potsherds and terracotta figurines in Baluchistan and the Northwest Frontier Province. His artefacts were purchased by the Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967. His figurines form a large part of this sample. Unlike Gordon, there are no publications on his figurines. P.T. Brooke Sewell⁵ established the Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund for acquiring objects for the Department of Oriental Antiquities (now the Department of Asia) at the British Museum. With the fund he purchased objects from every part of Asia, including the terracotta figurines collected by Martin.

The remaining figurines come from the following collectors and donors, each contributing a small number. Professor Ernst Herzfeld⁶ (1879-1948) became Professor of Oriental Archaeology with the British Museum in 1917. He travelled extensively in Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, visiting sites such as Nineveh, Samarra, Luristan, Persepolis and Pasargadae. He acquired an extensive collection of antiquities, and part of his collection was sold to the British Museum in the 1930s. He published extensively on subjects such as Kuṣāṇa coins, architecture in Damascus and the archaeological history of Iran. None of his publications are

⁴ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=138900

⁵ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=137931

⁶ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=93413

related to the thesis collection, and only a small part of his finds are relevant. Sir Harold Arthur Deane⁷ (1854-1908) was the commissioner of the Northwest Frontier Province in colonial India. His collection of Kashmiri and Gandhāran antiquities was donated by Lt.-Colonel Deane. Lieutenant-Colonel H.H.R. Deane⁸ was the donor of the collection of Gandhāran Buddhist sculptures, some of which are in this sample. He may have been the son or a close relative of Sir Harold Arthur Deane. Colonel A.H. Burn OBE CIE⁹ took part in a survey at Khabur and an excavation at Chagar Bazar. He gathered a collection of antiquities from India and Pakistan, primarily the Northwest Frontier Province. His donations include some of the figurines in this sample, as well as a few Mesopotamian objects. Mrs. M.T. Burn¹⁰ sold figurines to the British Museum in 1949 that had been collected by her husband Colonel Burn in the Northwest Frontier Province. Other collectors and donors include the following: P.A.J. Hall¹¹ donated pottery and figurines from Harappā in 1957; H.G. Beard¹² donated Indian antiquities in 1979, including some of the figurines in this collection; Mrs. P. Birch¹³ donated one of the figurines in 1972; Mrs. C.C. Chambers¹⁴ donated antiquities in 1962; Major J. Steuart-Gratton¹⁵ was the collector of one of the figurines; and Douglas Eric Barrett¹⁶ (1917-1992) the Keeper of Oriental Antiquities from 1969-1977, was identified as the collector of some of the figurines.

This is a very eclectic group of donors. They were all amateurs who collected surface finds (nothing was excavated). While Gordon was quite scholarly and published several articles, the rest wrote nothing about their figurines. In some cases, the original collector is known, and in other cases only the donor is known.

1.4 Location of the Sites

The area from which the figurines come is located on the northwest edge of pre-partition India. Today this area is the Northwest Frontier Province and Punjab, located in northern Pakistan. These areas are bounded by Afghanistan to the west and India to the east. (See Maps 2 and 3 in Appendix A which show the provinces of India and Pakistan and the location of the sites where the collection was found.)

The land in northern Pakistan consists of river alluvium between regions of desert sand to the southeast and mountains to the northwest (Johnson 1981: 4). The major river that runs through the area discussed in this thesis is the Indus River. Tributaries to the west include the Kabul River and Gomāl River, which come out of the Hindu Kush Mountains in Afghanistan. To the east of the Indus lie the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Sutlej rivers that lead to the Indo-Gangetic Divide (Johnson 1981: 7). To the southeast of that area lie the remnants of the Ghaggar-Hakra river system, a group of ancient rivers that are now dry channels and seasonal rivers (Wright 2010: 28).

There are four major mountain ranges in this area. The Hindu Kush Mountains are in eastern Afghanistan and form the western border of the area for this thesis. The Pamirs Mountains are north of the Hindu Kush on the southern edge of Central Asia. The Karakorum Mountains start in northern Pakistan near the source of the Indus and go northeast into Tibet. The Himalayas begin in that area and go east. The Kirthar and Suleiman mountains separate the Indus Valley from Baluchistan (information found in Google Earth).

⁷ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=141321

⁸ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=141322

⁹ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=141912

¹⁰ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=141910

¹¹ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=140542

¹² http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=142172

¹³ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=142069

¹⁴ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=141795

¹⁵ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=136854

¹⁶ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=142199

In terms of the landscape, the Gommal River (located on the south end of the area of the thesis) is the dividing line between Baluchistan (with its broad high uplands) and the Northwest Frontier Hills, where the terrain is dominated by valleys and mountain spurs. A sub-montane area west of the Indus consists of three valleys: the Bannu Plains, Kohat Plain and Vale of Peshawar. To the southeast are the Indus Plains. This is an intensely irrigated alluvial plain that includes the Punjab and its eponymous five rivers: the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. To the south lies the Thar Desert, an area of sand dunes that includes dry river beds such as the Ghaggar (Johnson 1981: 9-13).

2.0 Typology and Description of the Thesis Collection

This detailed introduction to the human terracotta figurines that form the thesis collection consists of three parts. The first part consists of a review of existing catalogues of figurines. Their contents and layout are summarized, and then their lessons for the thesis are discussed. The purpose is to explain how and why the summary of the figurines and the catalogue will be done in this research. The second part of this chapter defines the typology of the thesis collection. The third and final part provides a detailed description of various aspects of the figurines, including height, sex, completion and leg division. Its purpose is to provide a clear summary of what the thesis collection is. Full entries on the individual figurines are in Appendix B in the second volume. This description is merely the introduction to the dataset; there will be further discussion throughout the thesis as method and theory is introduced.

Some of the earliest pioneering work on South Asian human figurines was done by Coomaraswamy who studied the figurines of the Indus Valley Civilization. He used the term Indo-Sumerian to describe the Indus Valley Civilization and argued there was a common Chalcolithic culture that spread across India and the Near East (Coomaraswamy 1999: 1, recent reprint of an older book). This culture was matriarchal and its religion revolved around the worship of the productive powers of nature and a mother goddess (to be discussed in detail in Chapter 7). It then differentiated into the Sumerians and the Indus Valley Civilization. Coomaraswamy stated that some parts of Mohenjo Daro dated from 1000 to 400 B.C, and sites such as Taxila and Pataliputra went back to 500 B.C. In his view (as well as many art historians) there was no separation between Mauryan India and the Indus Valley Civilization, arguing that certain figurines were primitive, meaning pre-Mauryan (Gordon 1935: 117). In *Early Indian Terra Cottas*, he identified the first group as Indo-Sumerian. He said the most characteristic trait is the primitive technique of forming the nose by creating a large ridge (Coomaraswamy 1927:90).

Disproving that idea did not require the accumulation of new data over the coming decades; it required the use of data that was available when the research was done. In *The Problem of Early Indian Terracottas* (Gordon 1935), Gordon critiqued Coomaraswamy's claim that certain terracottas dated back to the Indus Valley. Coomaraswamy used three figurines from Taxila and Peshawar as examples of primitive pre-Mauryan figurines, having obtained them from a dealer near Peshawar, Gordon stated none of the figurines could be assigned a date earlier than 250 B.C., as he had interviewed the villagers who had found these figurines who reported that many had been found above Indo-Greek figurines (Gordon 1935:117), thus making them Kuṣāṇa period figurines. It is therefore clear that sufficient information was available to refute the idea that these figurines were connected. Coomaraswamy was too hasty in coming to a conclusion and he was not thorough enough in researching his artefacts. Gordon defeated Coomaraswamy's argument by doing more research on the figurines. This provides a clear lesson for this thesis: be thorough in gathering data and do not jump to unwarranted conclusions. In doing research one must seek out as many sources of information as possible.

2.1 South Asian Literature on Terracotta Figurines

Excavation reports are an important source of data for figurines, but figurines are also found in abundance in museums. These museums will sometimes publish catalogues that describe their figurines, including Indian terracotta figurines in a particular collection. Art history books provide an introduction to terracotta figurines for laypeople and non-specialists, giving general descriptions of terracotta figurines from different periods of Indian history and photographs as examples.

One catalogue describes the figurine collection in the Allahabad Museum (Kala 1980) which starts with a short history of figurines. The information consists of descriptions of figurines in each time period and references to them from ancient literature. The main body of the book, the catalogue, provides a brief description of the appearance of each figurine, its height and width measurements, a date, and a black and white photograph. There are short descriptions of each site but only contextual information provided for the city of origin. The dates are said to be based on stratigraphy (Kala 1980: 49) but no detailed justification is given.

One art history book, *Images, Attributes and Motifs* by Arundhati Banerji (1993), provides a history of Indian terracotta figurines. It is organized chronologically, starting with Mehrgarh and going forward from there. Many cultures are mentioned and it provides a thorough look at Indian figurines with textual descriptions of the figurines from each period. This is a work of art history, and it is useful as a descriptive history of figurines in India. However, its usefulness in comparison is quite limited as it lacks a catalogue and photographs.

Indian Earth (Poster 1986) is another example of an art history book on Indian terracotta figurines. It provides a basic overview of the appearance of Indian terracotta figurines and a more focused history of appearances, along with some information on the place of figurines in ancient Indian social organization. When India became urbanized again, figurine making became its own profession with its own district (Desai 1985: 30). The third chapter describing terracotta brick temples may be quite relevant to a small group of figurines that may be bricks. The book also provides an ethnographic account of recent figurines and the material properties of terracotta as applied to figurines. It describes the importance of archaeological science to figurines, with the example of a broken figurine that was glued back together. It was found through thermoluminescence dating that one part of the figurine was 1,000 younger than another part (van Zelst 1985: 69). While interesting, there are no figurines in the collection that are like this.

Poster includes a catalogue of figurines with good black and white photographs. While the descriptions provide dates for the figurines (albeit without explanation) and the cities or provinces where they were found, no detailed contextual information is provided. One of the figurines is a Sar Dheri type in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The footnote says Sar Dheri types have been dated from 1000 B.C. to the first century B.C (Poster 1985:116). When describing the history of the Indian-Iranian borderland, Hallade (1968:16) uses a Sar Dheri figurine from the Victoria and Albert Museum as an example, and dates it to the second half of the first millennium B.C. But nothing else is said of any figurines that may be relevant to the collection.

Indian Terracotta Sculpture: The Early Period (Pal 2002) is an art history book that surveys Indian terracotta figurines from the Indus Valley Civilization to the Historic period. Each chapter focusses on an area of a specific time with various authors contributing. While its ideas are the most up-to-date, it contains information similar to the other art history books. It mentions three Sar Dheri figurines, all of which are members of the collection in this thesis. Unlike previous works, they are identified as baroque ladies instead of Mother Goddesses. Baroque lady is the term Mortimer Wheeler used in his excavation report from Chārsadda.

Naman Ahuja has also written about figurines in northern India (Ahuja 2002, 2004). He describes a set of figurines representative of Indo-Gangetic figurines, presents 13 photographs, and mentions how other figurines are similar to them. The descriptions highlight features relevant to the discussion, but some information is redundant because it is visible in the photographs. He does not provide functions and meanings with rigorous justifications, but only offers suggestions. He also does

not construct a typology or describe the evolution of the figurines. Thus the works by Pal and Ahuja are of limited usefulness to the thesis.

2.2 Catalogues of Mediterranean Figurines

The *Catalogue of Greek Terracottas in the British Museum* (Volume 3) (Burn & Higgins 2001) is a list of the museum's Greek terracotta figurines. It is strictly a catalogue and a description of the figurines with very little interpretation. The main body of the book is divided according to region, with each chapter representing a major area of Greek culture around the Aegean. Each chapter is subdivided into individual cities and islands. The appendices contain scientific reports on neutron activation analysis, an analysis of the white grounds from polychrome terracottas, and an examination of gilding.

Each subdivision of the catalogue starts with a brief introduction to the history and significance of the area. This is followed by how the figurines were collected, and then a summary of the figurines in that section. This introduction is followed by individual entries for each figurine. The entry contains the height, find spot, details of the clay, decoration, condition and a textual description of the figurine. Black and white photos are provided at the back of the book.

The second catalogue is *Anthropomorphic Figurines* by Peter Ucko (1968). This book is divided into four major sections: Egypt, Crete, the Near East and Greece, and Intercultural Relations. The first three sections have drawings of that area's figurines which are subdivided into excavated and purchased figurines. Each of the three sections have a chapter called "Discussion of Points Arising from Publications and Catalogue", which start with publication records for the individual figurines and then evaluates published analyses. The Crete section also evaluates the publications of Sir Arthur Evans. Issues discussed include Dating and Bought Figurines, Figurine Contexts, Steatopygia, Posture and other issues. The analyses consist of data tables on attributes such as sex, materials, posture, arm position, and combinations such as sex and date or arm position, material, date and sex. The analyses end with a typology.

Part Four of Ucko's catalogue discusses published analyses of intercultural relations and comparisons of individual figurines between areas. Part Five is about interpretations of figurine function and meaning, beginning with a summary and review of the Mother Goddess. It then goes into alternative interpretations of prehistoric figurines, and then interprets the functions of the figurines. This chapter consists of the ethnographically and historically attested uses of figurines. Ucko's goal is to determine the range of possible functions, and then decide which one best accounts for the archaeological record. The interpretation of function consists of speculation based on ethnography and archaeological context. These ideas are essentially best guesses based on what is known about where the figurines were and what people have used the figurines for.

2.3 How the Summary and Catalogue of Figurines Will Be Done

The catalogue for this thesis will have more interpretation and more of a literature review than Burn and Higgins' catalogue, with much of the description being inspired by Ucko's study. His descriptive analysis includes all the characteristics an archaeologist would measure and describe in many interesting combinations, and all done in a systematic way. The analysis of function and meaning is also similar to that in Ucko's study, as this research will also make use of ethnographic and historical analogies, although this thesis will not have a separate alternative interpretations section. The actual catalogue part of the thesis is similar to Burn and Higgins with one exception: there will not be a textual description of the figurines. Instead, each entry will contain a high quality colour photograph since they provide far more information about an object than a paragraph ever could. Otherwise the format of Burn and Higgins is applicable to this thesis, with the catalogue using an approach similar but not identical to *Greek Terracottas in the British Museum*. The South Asian catalogues are not as detailed or thorough in their analysis as these

two Mediterranean examples. Therefore they will not be followed, nor will the art history books as they merely survey examples and do not provide numbers or a complete dataset.

In addition to the methodology described, there are a few issues that shape the analysis in this chapter. There are no representations of people and concepts from any known religion, therefore we cannot turn to textual evidence to determine beliefs. This means our only source of information is the figurines themselves. Thus the available information is very limited. The figurines have no stratigraphic context or associated artefacts. In many cases the exact location is not known. No archaeological work has been done on them. In many cases, the only information available is the information visible on the figurine itself. The answer to that challenge is to use what information is available, put forth the best possible guess, and ensure that the claims are not grander than the evidence. If there is not enough information for a definitive conclusion, then an idea will not be described as a definitive conclusion. This research can be built upon by others.

2.4 Typology and Classification

In a collection as diverse as this, typology is an important part of the study. The 170 figurines represent a period of 4,000 years and come from 12 specific sites and an unspecified location within two provinces, mostly around northern Pakistan. They need to be divided into groups and are typically based on function, shape, decoration, colour, finish and material (based on Caple 2006: 49). This section describes the typological groups, with the next section including tables of the frequency of basic traits in each group. This is because in a valid typology, the pattern will be apparent in the data.

Typologies can incorporate culture change, showing the evolution of an object from simple to complex or from complex to simple. Diachronic stylistic analysis (Lesure 2011: 51) studies the form of an object by comparing it with previous objects of its type. With this collection, the figurines would be placed in a sequence that shows the evolution of Indian terracotta figurines. This will not be done though, as it goes beyond the scope of a master's thesis. This change or lack of change can reflect the stability or instability of the time. Change is slow when the cultures of the area are stable, and change is fast when there is great change (Caple 2006: 50). The type of object is also important, functional objects change slowly and symbolic objects change quickly (Caple 2006: 51). To carry out such an analysis, one needs a collection of figurines that spans a long period of time. This thesis collection is like that to a certain extent. The figurines are dated from the Mature Harappān period (2600 to 1900 B.C.) to the Gupta period (A.D. 320 to 550), but the vast majority of the artefacts (82%) are from the first century B.C., according to the British Museum's online catalogue¹⁷. While one time period has an extensive data set, the earliest and latest periods have next to no artefacts. That kind of historical narrative would require bringing in many figurines from other collections, which would increase the scope of the research far beyond what it currently is.

Synchronic stylistic analysis (Lesure 2011: 51) studies the form of an object by comparing it with contemporary objects. This can be done here on a variety of scales: one of Codrington's (1931) suggestions is to compare figurines with sculptures. A figurine can be compared with other figurines within the same unit, within the same site, within the same culture or across India.

The typology for this thesis is based on common characteristics and similarity with published figurines. The Indus Valley Civilization group are, first and foremost, figurines that resemble those found at Indus Valley Civilization sites. The Sahri Bahlol figurines resemble those identified as Naigameśīs in excavation reports (Narain & Agrawala 1978; Agrawala 1947). Since the thesis collection figurines have no context of their own, they must be compared with ones that do have context (an idea that appears as early as Codrington in 1931). The Sar Dheri type was created to group those figurines that have one or more of the three recurring features: rosettes, lotus pods and circle slit eyes. These groups will be described in detail, with the last part of this chapter describing the physical characteristics of the groups. Descriptions and photographs of the individual figurines can be found in the

¹⁷ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx

second volume on the pages indicated with each figurine or group of figurines. Excavation reports will be discussed in the next chapter.

Ideally the construction of a typology takes into account many factors. These include their place in the evolution of figurines, common and different cultural origins, function, role in social organization, iconography and meaning. At the beginning of the analysis, the only thing known is their appearance. Therefore the figurines will initially be grouped with figurines that happen to look similar. The purpose of the thesis, however, is to explore the methods and issues of figurine interpretation, and attempt to learn as much about them as possible. Therefore the typological groups below will be used until the conclusion. At that point their validity will be assessed, and either they will be accepted or new groups will be proposed in light of the findings of the thesis.

2.4.1 Indus Valley Civilization Figurines

The Indus Valley Civilization type consists of figurines that are nearly identical to Indus Valley Civilization (IVC) figurines in excavation reports (Vats 1940; MacKay 1937, 1943), and were found at IVC sites. Four figurines in this collection (see Figurines #1-4, Volume 2, pp. 5-6) have Harappā listed as a find spot. One figurine is nearly identical to several figurines from Vats' report on Harappā (Vats 1940). The other three do not have such a strong resemblance, but they do have features associated with known Harappān figurines.

These excavation reports (Vats 1940; MacKay 1937, 1943) provide some information on context and dating for these figurines. Figurines 32-48 in Vats were most similar to Figurine #1 in this collection, and were found in Strata 1-3 in both Mound F and Mound AB (Vats 1940: 9). Those strata have been dated from 3050 B.C. to 2750 B.C., which would put these figurines in the Early Harappān period. Some of the figurines were found in Cemetery H, Stratum 1, which means they date from approximately 2000 B.C. (Vats 1940: 10). This means they would just as easily be Mature Harappān or Late Harappān. Clark (2007) provides several pictures of figurines similar to those in the thesis collection.

In Mohenjo Daro, figurines were found in the palace annex, the palace, several houses and several roads (MacKay 1937: 270). The identification of one building as a palace does not match with current thinking on the social organization of the Indus Valley Civilization. It is not known if this civilization even had kings (Singh 2008: 176) or what the non-residential buildings were used for (Wright 2010: 122).

One figurine (1880.3134.4) resembles two figurines found at Chanhū Daro (MacKay 1943). The lack of features for comparison on the figurine, however, makes it difficult to establish a positive identification. Plates 157-163 from Banerji (1993) provide additional examples. A similar headdress is found on Figurines #13 and #15 in Kala (1980) and is from Kauśāmbi. A Mohenjo Daro figurine of this type is in Kala (1980: #19).

2.4.2 Sahri Bahlol Figurines

Sahri Bahlol is a town in northwestern Pakistan, and the British Museum identifies several figurines from that area as Sahri Bahlol figurines. It will also be used here to maintain consistency. These figurines (Figurines #5-18) are identical to those Naigameśa figurines identified in the excavation reports from Rājghāt and Ahicchatrā (Narain & Agrawala 1978; Agrawala 1947). Naigameśa and Naigameśī are ancient folk deities.

Rājghāt and Ahicchatrā are two sites that yielded large numbers of figurines very similar to the Sahri Bahlol type. In the report from Ahicchatrā, Naigameśa was described as a god of childbirth who was considered to be a form of Skanda, and Naigameśī a form of Śāsthī, the consort of Skanda (Agrawala 1947: 135). The reports consistently identified the person depicted as

Naigameśī, but no primary source is provided. This means the Sahri Bahlol figurines can only be identified as Naigameśī if the identification is accurate, which it might not be. The figurines are dated to A.D. 450-650 based on their stratigraphy (Strata IIIb and IIIc) (Agrawala 1947: 134). Stratum III is dated from A.D. 350-750 but no further details are provided (Agrawala 1948: 106). The majority of these figurines were found in unit III, between 47 and 39 ½ feet below datum. Two others were found in unit VII at 39 ½ feet below datum.

Rājghāt is located in Vārāṇasī, which would put it on the Ganges toward the east of India. In the report from Rājghāt, the figurines classified as Type 11 subtype 2 are referred to as goat-headed Naigameśīs (Narain & Agrawala 1978: 44). A figurine of this type was reported in the city of Saridkel in the province of Jharkand (Archaeological Survey of India 2011: 120), suggesting a wide distribution if it was found in both Vārāṇasī and the Northwest Frontier Province. The site dates from 800 B.C. to post-A.D. 1200. The 12 stratified Rājghāt figurines were from Period 4 (A.D. 300 to 700), which would suggest these are from the Gupta period. Period 4 also included gold coins depicting Gupta rulers (Narain and Agrawala 1978, Part 3: 15). Rājghāt also had 43 unstratified figurines (Narain & Agrawala 1978: 56, 60) which may be from other periods. No information on associated artefacts was mentioned. A Naigameśī figurine of this type is found in Kala (1980: #165) from Kauśambi and identified as a goat-headed female. Since some Naigameśas are goat-headed, this figurine is probably a Naigameśī.

The Naigameśī figurines are primarily female, along with some sexless and indeterminate figurines. The incomplete nature of some of them means they may have had very obvious sexual characteristics that are not currently available for viewing. The same applies to the figurines in Narain and Agrawala (1978) that these have been compared to. According to this method, the ear lobes are female characteristics because they always occur on female figurines and never on male figurines (because there are no male figurines). It is possible to extrapolate that the sexless figurines are probably female (though this is not proof of anything). In Plate 18 (Narain & Agrawala 1978), the only major difference between figurines identified as Naigameśa and Naigameśī are the breasts (or lack of). In every other way they are identical. Therefore the anatomical characteristics are the only features that can distinguish them as male or female.

2.4.3 Sar Dheri Figurines

The Sar Dheri type is named after a mound between Peshawar and Mardan where Colonel Gordon found figurines of this type. This type is primarily based on the Baroque Ladies of Mortimer Wheeler's excavation report from Chārsadda (Wheeler 1962) and can be dated to around the first millennium B.C. These can be found in the collections of the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, where they are referred to as the Sar Dheri type. The figurines in this collection (Vol. 2, pp. 14-61) come from many sites in the area, including Sar Dheri, Bala Hissar, Spina Warai, Peshawar, Chārsadda, Sahri Bahlol and NWFP. This type of figurine has a wide distribution within Gandhāra, but has never been found outside Gandhāra.

Three subgroups can be identified within the Sar Dheri type. Group 3 is a subset of Group 2, which is a subset of Group 1. Group 3 consists of those figurines that have circle slit eyes (Group 3 consists of Vol. 2, pp. 14-25, #19-40). This group includes all Sar Dheri type figurines (Vol. 2, pp. 14-53, #19-98 encompass the entire range of Sar Dheri figurines). Group 2 consists of those with lotus pods (oval with lines inside, usually surrounding the head). Not all Sar Dheri type figurines have lotus pods, but all figurines with lotus pods have circle slit eyes. Examples include Figurines #41-63 (Vol. 2, pp. 25-36). Group 1 consists of those that have rosettes (circles with lines radiating from the centre, always around the head). Figurines #64-98 (Vol. 2, pp. 36-53) comprise Group 3. All figurines with rosettes have lotus pods and circle slit eyes, but not all figurines with circle slit eyes and lotus pods have rosettes.

While not identical, there are similarities between the decorations on the Sar Dheri types and the decorations on other figurines. Poster (1986: 18, 19) has examples of figurines from Mathura in the Mauryan period that show decorations similar to the

rosettes and lotus pods. They are circular with wide incised lines radiating out from a circle in the middle. They are not identical to Sar Dheri rosettes, as the circle in the middle is not a bump and the grooves are wider. However, they are similar enough that the Sar Dheri rosettes may represent a regional variation on a widespread symbol. If this is true, then that would suggest the Sar Dheri types are from the Mauryan period. A head decoration similar to the lotus pods is on a figurine from Mathura (Poster 1986: 19, 90, 91). The circle slit eyes also appear on a figurine from Ahicchatrā (Kala 1980: #1) and one from Kauśāmbi (Kala 1980: #7). Many figurines have a groove at the waist. In her chapter on Neolithic Anatolian figurines, Meskell (2007: 143) said, “A closer examination of the carving, abrasion and surface patterning may reveal differences in wear around areas such as grooved ‘waists’”. This has important implications for the thesis collection, as many figurines have a groove at the waist. This opens up the possibility that something was worn around that waist that has long since decayed. No one has ever reported seeing such a thing, though, and if there are remains they would consist of microscopic fibers.

A similar situation exists for the Sar Dheri figurines. The ones with lotus pods and rosettes are almost all female, so the indeterminate one is probably (but not definitely) female. This sample also makes it seem that lotus pods and rosettes are female characteristics in some unknown way. Unfortunately the Sar Dheri figurines are not as common as the Naigameśas/Naigameśīs, thus there is less data to draw on.

2.4.4 Hellenistic Figurines

The British Museum’s online catalogue identifies a few figurines as Hellenistic. Hellenistic figurines are those that have elements of Greek sculpture. For example, laurel wreaths are a Greek decoration. In addition, the facial features more closely resemble Greek human figurines than Indian human figurines. It is not surprising that Greek elements appear in Indian art. South Asia has a long history of incorporating foreign art styles into its own, and it is well documented that an Indo-Greek culture and kingdom flourished in, interacted with, and was assimilated by South Asia. It can be assumed these figurines are at the very least from the second or first centuries B.C., or (less likely) the first century A.D. Similar figurines can be found in Pal (2002: 80) which has a Hellenistic bust of a boy from Kauśāmbi. Poster (1986: 132-134) has Hellenistic figurines from Gandhāra. The Hellenistic figurines in the thesis collection are on pages 61-63 of Volume 2. The “Hellenistic” label, and its implications, will be used for the moment and evaluated in the conclusion, in light of the findings of the thesis.

2.4.5 Other Figurines

This category consists of one-of-a-kind figurines and those that do not fit into other categories. They will be discussed in their own catalogue entries (Vol. 2, pp. 69, 70, 91). However, a few things can be said about the subgroups of figurines that have undecorated bodies or little to no decoration. This is a problem for comparison as there are few or no features to compare. It is possible that some of these bodies and heads in other sections may be from the same figurine. This cannot be proven, however. In addition, there are four figurines that appear to be on a flat surface of some sort. They may be broken pieces of a brick or frieze. This was quite common in temple architecture. Context is needed to confirm this; a piece of a brick should be found near a building.

2.5 Descriptive Analysis of the Collection

This section provides a detailed, primarily quantitative description of the physical characteristics of the figurines that are sorted into the typological groups described above. It consists of a series of characteristics, such as sex and height. Frequencies and statistics are included, with some discussion of the issues involved with each characteristic. This is a very empiricist chapter with a lot of data and numbers and little interpretation. The vast majority of the figurines are incomplete. Some are missing only a small

piece of an extremity, while others are missing everything below the head. Numbers in parentheses indicate which catalogue entry in the second volume provides an example. The figurine catalogue can be referred to while reading this volume, and the numbers of relevant figurines are provided, as pictures provide much more information than any written description.

2.5.1 Sexing

In this study, the basic approach that uses sexual characteristics will be done. Figurines with a penis (#39-40) are definitely male, and figurines with vaginas are definitely female (#170). Figurines with broad hips (e.g. #41-44) and breasts (e.g. #16 and #170) are taken to be female. The identification of breasts is a bit tricky, as a line must be drawn between female breasts and male pectorals. When hips and genitalia are present, they can be used to sex the figurine. However, when that part of the body is absent, the buttons applied to the chest must be used. No sex means that sexual characteristics were not added, and the figurine is complete enough that there are definitely no sexual characteristics in a missing portion. Indeterminate means there are no sexual characteristics present although there might have been some in a section that is now missing. While ambiguous to the modern viewer, it is entirely possible their sex was clear to the people who made them, using symbols that are not associated with sex in modern India. Therefore, as with most of the conclusions in this thesis, this is not at all definitive.

Table 2: Sex of the figurines. Numbers indicate figurines in the group identified as that sex.

		Male	Female	No sex	Indeterminate
IVC		0	4	0	0
Sahri Bahlol		0	10	5	0
Sar Dheri Type		2	46	41	7
Hellenistic		0	1	4	0
Other Figurines		0	33	7	13
None	0	5	38	3	20

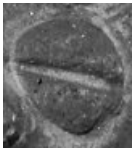
Table 3. Sexual characteristics of the figurines. Numbers indicate figurines in the group with that sexual characteristic.

	IVC	Sahri Bahlol	Sar Dheri Type	Hellenistic	Other Figurines
Penis	0	0	2	0	0
Vagina	0	0	0	0	1
Broad hips	0	0	21	0	16
Breasts	4	10	31	2	20
Breasts or pectorals	0	0	7	0	0

Sex can also be determined from other characteristics when a correlation is proven. To do this, there must be a sample of figurines of known sex. They must have other characteristics (such as decorations), and those must occur only on figurines of that sex. In sexing a figurine, the most obvious course is to use sexual anatomy. This, however, is a simplistic approach and it would be better to devise a more sophisticated method, or at least set of characteristics. Atre (1998: 164) examined detailed sculptures to determine those traits associated with each sex, providing the example of hairstyle. A similar study could be quite useful to this thesis.

2.5.2 Heads and Facial Features

This section will describe the shape of the head and the presence or absence and shape of eyes, nose and mouth. Objects on the head such as rosettes will be described in the decorations subsection. Some of the features below are defining characteristics of a type, some are seen across types and some are found in only a few members of a type, therefore, they are useful to varying degrees in constructing typologies.



Circle slit eyes: These consist of oval pellets with a horizontal line down the centre. They are found in all Sar Dheri type figurines (Figurines #19-98), and not in other figurine types. This makes them a unique and defining characteristic of that type.



Naturalistic eyes: These are realistic eyes found in the Hellenistic figurines (Figurines #116, 118, 119). They are defined by a smooth surface, recessed into the face with smooth edges around them. This stands in contrast with the other two types above and below, which bulge out of the face.



Pellet eyes: These occur in a few figurines and consist of a pellet of clay applied to the face (Figurines #1-2). They are found in some Indus Valley Civilization figurines but not all, thus they are not a defining characteristic.



Groove mouth: This consists of a horizontal line carved into the lower face (Figurine #3). It is found in an Indus Valley Civilization figurine.



Circle slit mouth: This consists of a circle with a line cut through the middle (Figurine #1, 24). This is a very common feature of the Sar Dheri figurines, and is also seen in Indus Valley Civilization figurines.

Ears: All representations of ears are lumped together into one category. Ears are pieces of clay on either side of the head (Figurines #10-16).

Table 4: Heads and facial features of the figurines. Numbers indicate figurines in the group with that head and face.

	Eyes			Nose	Ears	Mouth			Hair	None
	Circle Slit	Naturalistic	Pellet			Groove mouth	Circle slit mouth	Naturalistic		
IVC	0	0	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	1
Sahri Bahlol	0	0	0	12	8	12	0	0	0	1
Sar Dheri Type	73	0	0	74	2	1	52	0	0	3
Hellenistic	0	4	0	6	0	0	0	4	1	0
Other Figurines										
Sar Dheri Bodies										

2.5.3 Arm Position

This section will describe the shape and direction of the arms. The IVC, Sar Dheri and other figurines are primarily perpendicular. The Sar Dheri figurines also have a significant minority of armless figurines. The Sahri Bahlol figurines are primarily angled, with a significant minority with parallel arms. Every group has a predominant arm direction, but every group also has exceptions (see table below). This means that arm direction cannot identify a type with certainty, but that the definition of a type could include the dominant arm direction. For the Indus Valley Civilization and Sar Dheri figurines, that would be perpendicular, and for the Sahri Bahlol figurines, that would be angled. The Sar Dheri and Sahri Bahlol figurines have a number of broken specimens with no arms, thus these numbers may or may not accurately reflect all specimens of the type.



Perpendicular Arms: These go straight out (Figurines #25, 26, 28). This the dominant arm direction of the Indus Valley Civilization and Sar Dheri figurines, and it not present at all in the Sahri Bahlol figurines.



Angled Arms: These are at an angle relative to the torso, going downward (Figurine #5). This is the predominant arm direction of the Sahri Bahlol figurines, and is occasionally found in Sar Dheri figurines. It is Not found at all in Indus Valley Civilization figurines.



Parallel Arms: These are parallel to the torso (Figurine #9). This is found in a minority of Indus Valley Civilization, Sahri Bahlol and Sar Dheri figurines.

No arms	0	4	35	3	15
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Table 5: Arms of the figurines Numbers indicate figurines in the group with that arm position.					
	IVC	Sahri Bahlol	Sar Dheri	Hellenistic	Other Figurines
Perpendicular	3	0	54	0	19
Angled	0	6	5	1	19
Parallel	1	4	1	2	2

2.5.4 Leg Division

Not much can be reliably said about the legs. In all groups, the majority of figurines are missing the legs (none of the Indus Valley Civilization figurines have legs). This greatly reduces the amount of data available.

Joined legs: These figurines have one tapering protrusion in the lower body with a shallow line dividing the legs (Figurines #94, 97). Of those Sar Dheri figurines that have legs, the vast majority are joined. This means they can be used as a defining characteristic.

Separated legs: In this case two separate legs are formed (Figurines #17, 18). A tiny minority of Sar Dheri figurines have these, and both of the Sahri Bahlol figurines with legs have these.

Table 6: Leg division of the figurines. Numbers indicate figurines in the group with that leg division.					
	IVC	Sahri Bahlol	Sar Dheri	Hellenistic	Other Figurines
Joined	0	0	25	0	12
Separated	0	2	2	0	11
No legs	4	12	66	6	34

2.5.5 Decorations

In some cases, decorations are a very common feature in a group. A significant number of Sar Dheri figurines have lotus pods (and they have never been seen on any other figurine). A significant number within that subgroup have rosettes (they have also never been seen on any other figurine).



Rosettes: These are circles with a mound in the middle and lines radiating outward. They are found on the heads of the Sar Dheri type figurines. Every figurine with rosettes has lotus pods, but not every figurine with lotus pods has rosettes (Figurines #81-98). They have not been found on any other figurine, in the collection or South Asia in general.



Lotus Pods: These are oval objects with six lines in two columns, usually around the head but sometimes on the chest. They are found in the Sar Dheri type figurines. All figurines with lotus pods have circle slit eyes (Figurines #41-98). They have not been found on any other figurine, in the collection or South Asia in general.



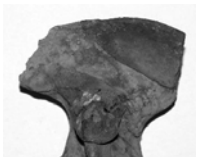
Neckbands: These decorations go across the neck and consist of a band with vertical lines (Figurine #19, 21, 24, 26). This is a common decoration in the Sar Dheri type.



Wreaths: These are headresses that resemble wreathes from Greece (Figurine #116). This occurs in one of the Hellenistic figurines, and might indicate it was made by the Indo-Greeks before their complete assimilation.



Chestbands: Any line or band across the chest. This is a rare feature in the collection, and not a signature characteristic of any group.



Headresses: An object on the head that cannot be identified (Figurine #4). This occurs on one of the Indus Valley Civilization figurines, and has been seen in other figurines from Mohenjo Daro.



Crown: One figurine has three spikes on the head that will be referred to as a crown. However, the object has not been positively identified (Figurine #45). This occurs on one Sar Dheri figurine. It is therefore not a signature characteristic of that group.

Crown	0	0	1	0	0
Table 7: Decorations of the figurines. Numbers indicate figurines in the group with that					
Headress decoration	2	13	20	2	4
Rosettes	0	0	0	0	2
Necklace	0	0	0	0	1
Lines of dots	0	0	0	0	1
Medallion	0	0	1	0	0
Lotus pod	0	0	5	0	0
Lines across headress	0	0	0	0	2
Chest	0	0	54	0	1
Lotus pod	0	0	54	0	1
Arm incisions	0	0	59	0	2
Incised	0	0	59	0	2
Leaf pattern neckbands	0	0	0	0	0

Line across neck	0	0	0	0	0
None	2	0	16	4	41

2.5.6 Size, Completion and Proportions

An object should be measured, as steps and clusters in sizes can indicate differences in use. Differently shaped objects can be studied by plotting two dimensions against each other in a scatter plot (Caple 2006: 48). Changes in dimension through time can be studied, and statistical analysis can be used to study differences. Dimensions can be used to calculate the amount of raw material involved. This is a very good area of analysis for the collection. All of them can be measured, and the measurements can help in the creation of a typology (keeping in mind the issue of the completeness of each figurine). The biggest issue with the size of the figurines is that most of them are not complete. Therefore, in grouping and comparing them, it may be necessary to compare only specific parts of the figurine. For example, a head and a complete figurine cannot be compared, but the head can be compared with the head of the complete figurine. In addition, the body of a complete figurine can be compared with a headless body.

Table 8: Heights of figurines in centimetres.									
	0-1.9	2-3.9	4-5.9	6-7.9	8-9.9	10-11.9	12-13.9	14-15.9	16+
IVC	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
Sahri Bahlol	0	0	2	3	7	1	2	0	0
Sar Dheri Type	1	7	25	37	17	8	1	2	1
Hellenistic	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
Other figurines	0	6	19	4	11	4	1	0	0

Table 9: Completion of figurines. Numbers indicate figurines in each group that have that part.

	+Head	+Chest	+Upper Right arm	+Lower right arm	+Upper Left arm	+Lower left arm	+Abdomen	+Upper legs	+Lower legs
IVC	3	3	2	1	2	0	1	0	0
Sahri Bahlol	14	12	9	7	6	5	3	2	2
Sar Dheri Type	79	67	50	46	43	40	24	26	12
Hellenistic	6	3	3	1	3	1	1	0	0
Other figurines	33	47	36	29	34	29	31	23	21

2.5.7 Colouration and Coatings

Colour can reveal information about the object and the people associated with it. The colour can be the natural colour of the material, or it can be the result of firing in the case of clay, or caused by the application of paints, slips and other materials. The colour can reflect the manufacturing process – reds and browns in terracotta indicate an oxidizing atmosphere in the kiln, and grey indicates a reducing atmosphere. Colour is a good topic for analysis as every figurine has a colour for a reason. The usefulness of coatings depends on how many figurines actually have that. The fragmentary nature of many figurines is good for this in that it provides a cross-section of the figurine.

The figurines in the thesis collection come in a variety of colours. They fall within black, brown, red and beige. Colour does not correlate with the typological groups. Instead, the majority of figurines in each group are light coloured (which indicates oxidation, such as Figurine #85) and some are dark coloured (which indicates reduction, such as Figurine #119). This indicates different manufacturing techniques for figurines that otherwise look the same.

2.5.8 Manufacturing and Maker's Marks

This includes marks made by tools, such as hammer imprints or knife scratches. A study of marks of manufacture would be exceedingly useful, and a close study of the figurines would reveal their presence or absence. Assembly is relevant to objects that consist of multiple parts joined together, not to objects that were made as one piece. It would be useful to the analysis to determine how the figurines were assembled. This is essentially the reverse of the deliberate fragmentation (discussed in Gaydarska et al. 2007).

Artists and craftsmen often leave a mark or signature that identifies them as the maker of the object. Artists will sign their work, and the masons of Durham Cathedral left identifying marks on the blocks they cut (Caple 2006: 71). An object could be the result of specific and individual circumstances. Benvenuto Cellini made a gold eye and offered it to God and St. Lucia as thanks for healing an eye injury (Caple 2006: 69). Products can also be impacted by the maker's personality, preferences, sense of perfection, customer preferences and commissions, and ideas they copied from others in their trade. This will probably not form a major part of the analysis, as there are no marks that could potentially be signatures of the maker.

3.0 Survey of the Existing Data

A vital part of this thesis is the comparison of the collection with other figurines. Since the thesis collection figurines do not have context, they must be linked with similar figurines that do have context. Ethnographic literature, excavation reports, museum catalogues and art history books all describe and provide examples of human terracotta figurines in various ways, and all will be considered. This chapter is a survey of the existing data on figurines and search through the literature for figurines that are similar to the thesis collection, and for relevant information on the context of figurines. The maps in Appendix A can be used to understand the locations of the sites.

The excavation report category includes both monographs and reports in *Indian Archaeology: A Review*. Their purpose is to provide photographs of figurines and record their stratigraphic context, associated artefacts and the methods used to date them. The excavation reports reviewed are those that are available for use, and those that are not available are not included in this chapter. A useful excavation report is one that provides high quality colour photographs of each figurine, fully explains the dating method used, and provides detailed information on the location and surrounding artefacts of each figurine.

Where possible, the reviews are accompanied by illustrations of examples of the figurines found. The illustrations are chosen to show either similarities or differences. If they are chosen based on similarities, then they are comparable with figurines in this thesis. If they are based on differences, then they illustrate that some or all of the figurines found at a site are not similar to figurines in this thesis. As discussed in the review of Lesure's work in Chapter 4, a comparison of figurines must include both similarity and difference as possible outcomes.

3.1 Overview of the Literature

The context of an object is critically important to archaeological research. Context consists of the stratigraphic layer, surrounding soil, associated structures and artefacts, and packaging or enclosures (Caple 2006: 60-61). An object can have many different meanings or functions depending on the context. This means that if an object does not have context, then a wide range of possibilities will need to be considered, and it will be harder to come to a definite conclusion. This collection consists of artefacts that do not have contextual data found in an excavation. They must be compared with other figurine collections that do have context.

Excavation reports are the most important source of information for this thesis. They have the potential to provide examples of figurines from the time period of the collection and in the context in which they were used. Therefore the interpretation of the function and meaning of the figurines rests firmly on the data provided by excavation reports. The importance of stratigraphic context is not a recent issue; the idea appears as early as the 1930s (Codrington 1931). More recently, Singh described the situation: "... it is not always apparent whether a figurine had ritual significance or not. A great deal depends on the context in which it was found. There is a problem in dating terracottas, and those pieces that are found in stratified contexts are therefore of special value" (Singh 2008: 366).

In the majority of excavation reports, however, figurines are an afterthought. Ceramics, lithics and structures are described in great detail, while the figurines get a brief description, a sketch or photograph, and little contextual information. This may not matter, because in reports that do provide context for the figurines, the context is sometimes a midden or a well bottom. Therefore the available literature has some use to this thesis, but not as much as it could. The literature provides some much needed comparative information as the presence of similar and identical figurines from other sites helps identify the figurines. Those reports that provide information on context provide a few clues to meaning and function, while the absence of entire groups of figurines from other reports opens up interesting possibilities. Vats (1940) and MacKay (1937, 1943) provide the units where the figurines were found. This enables the reader to search the rest of the report for any other mention of that unit to establish

associated artefacts and structures. Many reports provide only the time period and not the unit the figurine was found in. Kala (1980), Poster (1986) and Lal (1993) provide photographs but very little information. They lack any contextual information beyond city of origin.

While one of the purposes of this chapter is to identify figurines that are similar to those in the thesis collection, the majority of excavation reports do not provide similar figurines. Thus photographs are provided for comparison with the catalogue in the second volume. However, there are a few excavation reports with figurines similar to the Sar Dheri, Sahri Bahlol and Indus Valley Civilization types.

What follows are reviews of individual excavation reports. The length of discussion is determined by the amount of relevant information to the study of the thesis collection.

3.2 Excavation Reports with Similar Figurines to the Sar Dheri Type

Eight excavation reports have figurines that are identical or nearly identical to the figurines in the thesis collection, and they also have context information. Two of the reports are from Chārsadda (Wheeler 1962; Coningham 2007), a site that has yielded excavated Sar Dheri figurines (Figurines #19-111, Vol. 2, pp. 14-60). The next two reports are from Rājghāt and Ahichchhatrā, two sites that provide excavated examples of Sahri Bahlol figurines. The last three reports are from Chanhu Daro, Harappā and Mohenjo Daro, Indus Valley Civilization sites that have yielded figurines similar to those in the thesis collection.

The first excavation report is from Chārsadda (Wheeler 1962), an ancient city located 10 kilometres from Sar Dheri. In 1958 Sir Mortimer Wheeler conducted an excavation there, where the figurines in this collection come from. This provides a wonderful opportunity for the thesis: figurines from that area in context. There are descriptions of the figurines, and some include location and associated artefacts. Some were said to be from disturbed layers; some were found in wells. However, none of these are primary contexts. The wells suggest that at least some figurines were disposed of as garbage, or accidentally dropped. One figurine was found in the top-filling of the defensive ditch (Wheeler 1962: 110). A significant portion of these figurines are identical to the Sar Dheri figurines. But does that mean the figurines are actually connected in any way? On what basis could one claim that similar looking artifacts are actually related? Answering those questions requires a lengthy discussion of archaeological method and theory. Therefore this chapter will describe the available data, with the comparisons done at the end of Chapter 4.

The most important aspect of Wheeler's report is the dates he assigned to his figurines. These are the dates used in the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum's online catalogues. Wheeler dated the Sar Dheri figurines to the third - second century B.C., basing the dating is on four factors: 1) iron is present in the earliest level at Chārsadda, and iron appears with the arrival of the Achaemenids in the sixth century B.C.; 2) there was a ditch that was filled in when Alexander the Great took the city; 3) Northern Black Polished Ware was found at the site, which arrived with the spread of Mauryan control to this area in 305 B.C.; and, 4) layer 14 has four pieces of schist carving from the Gandhāra School, which Wheeler dates to the second - fourth centuries A.D. (Wheeler 1962: 34-35).

This has proven to be a very shaky foundation. Today Northern Black Polished Ware is dated back to the seventh century B.C., and a recent series of carbon dates from Ayodhyā may push that back to 1000 B.C. (Singh 2008: 259). Recent research puts the invention of iron at 1700 B.C. at Dadupur and 1300 B.C. at Jhusi, and prior to that it was dated to 800 B.C. (Singh 2008: 249). If Wheeler's postulates are adjusted to include the latest dates, the Sar Dheri figurines could be from anytime in the first millennium B.C.

In contrast to Wheeler's excavation, a second report from Chārsadda was conducted recently (Coningham & Ali 2007). In the figurine section it states that two of the 36 figurines were found in situ, with one found in a charcoal-rich context above a

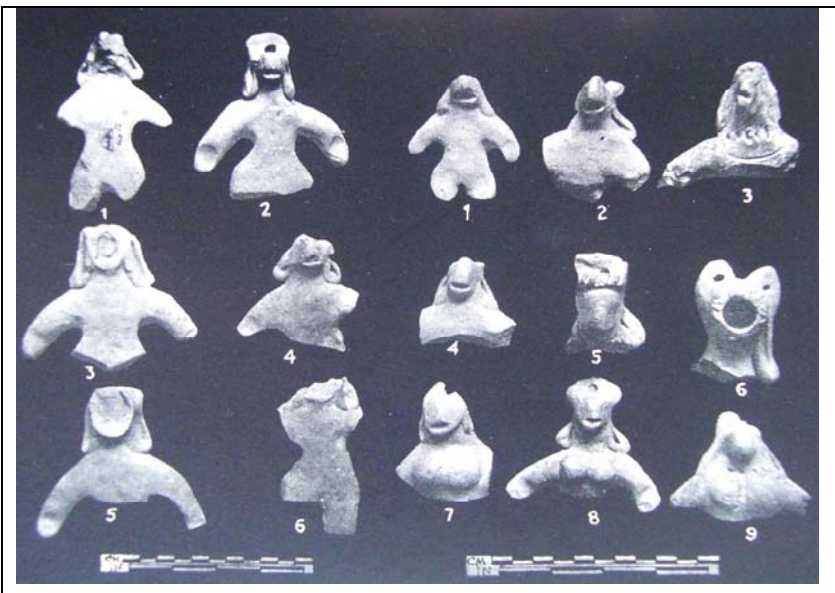
massive mudbrick wall (Coningham & Ali 2007: 187) and found in the fill of a ditch. Its good state of preservation is taken as an indication that it was buried immediately instead of lying on the surface and being eroded.

One issue common to both of these reports is the context. Contextual information is available but it is not the primary context. The figurines found were garbage, in middens and part of a ditch fill. Similarly it has been reported that many Indus Valley Civilization figurines are found in middens. This has important implications. The figurines in the thesis collection come from a variety of amateur collectors, who did not provide the detailed contextual data normally required in archaeology. This thesis places a great emphasis on finding similar figurines in context, to provide the missing information that would normally be derived from context. However, if this pattern of midden finds is true of most or all sites, then there is no context no matter how rigorous the excavation. This will make it impossible to determine where the majority of figurines were used, but it does show what ultimately happened to the figurines.

3.3 Reports from Rājghāt and Ahicchatrā

The sites of Rājghāt and Ahicchatrā are of great relevance because they have excavated examples of the Sahri Bahlol figurines which are very similar to the Sahri Bahlol type in the thesis collection (Figurines #5-18, Vol. 2, pp. 7-13). Rājghāt is a site within Varanasi where the remains span from the Late Vedic period to the Late Medieval period. This report (Narain & Agrawala 1978) includes two entire volumes devoted to terracotta figurines. Part 4A provides textual descriptions and Part 4B provides black and white photographs. Part 2 describes pottery while Part 3 describes other small finds. The report describes the period in which each figurine was found and provides what might be a unit. However, the small finds section does not provide the same information, which makes it impossible to figure out which artefacts were found together. There are summaries for each period, which provide little bits of useful information.

Rājghāt is divided into six periods, which are defined on the basis of ceramics, coins, seals, terracotta figurines and other objects. The detailed summaries of each period focus on ceramics, structures and figurines. Pottery is described as important evidence for the differentiation of time periods. For example, the report mentions finding a Gupta sealing and Northern Black Polished Ware as its basis for dating. The conclusions on dating are also supported by comparing the finds with their counterparts in other sites. Comparisons are made with pottery in Hastinapura, and in one period carbon dates are discussed. However, carbon dates are provided only for one period and no calibration is mentioned. The figurines are assigned to periods based on their stratigraphy (Narain & Agrawala 1978: 19-39).



comparable to the figurines in the thesis collection than most other reports. Plate 18 is very similar to most of the Sahri Bahlol types (Figure 2). They are sufficiently similar that in this thesis they may be of the same type. The decorations in Plates 4 and 5 bear some resemblance to decorations in the Sar Dheri types. The ears in Plate 8 are similar to the Sahri Bahlol type. 1880.3134.4 is similar to some figurines in Plate 9. Comparisons between the Rājghāt figurines and the figurines in the thesis collection will be discussed further at the end of the Chapter 4.

Ahicchatrā is an historic city in Uttar Pradesh. The site has produced Naigamesha figurines which, along with their counterparts in Rajghat, greatly resemble the Sahri Bahlol type (Agrawala 1947: Plate 48). The figurines were all excavated, but the report consists only of a figurine catalogue. No context or information about the site is provided, and the dating is provided but not explained. The report is divided into sections, such as Mother Goddess, Riders, Foreign types and Cult-images. In *Indian Archaeology: A Review 2003-04* (Archaeological Survey of India 2011: 281), there is a high quality colour photograph of a figurine whose decorations are not found in this collection. Structures are mentioned, but the only ones identified by type are fortifications.

While both sites have figurines identical to one of the groups in the thesis collection, these two reports do not provide information about where the figurines were found or what they were found with. The only information they provide is geographic distribution. They make it clear that the Sahri Bahlol type is one instance of a phenomenon that spans northern South Asia, but they do not provide any of the needed contextual information.

3.4 Reports from Indus Valley Civilization Sites

Four of the figurines in the thesis collection (Figurines #1-4, Vol. 2, pp. 5-6) are identical to figurines from the Indus Valley Civilization. This section reviews three reports that have photographs and context information on those figurines.



Figure 2: These five figurines provide examples of the finds from Chanhu Daro. They are from Plate LIII of MacKay 1943.

Chanhu Daro is an Indus Valley Civilization city near the Indus River in southern Pakistan. The summary of figurines in MacKay's (1943) report provides the depth of each figurine, and all figurines are said to be in the Harappā stratum. The early chapters include lists of

artefacts in each trench or square, with associated artefacts and their depths. The figurines were found in the same squares as every kind of artefact, with no visible pattern.

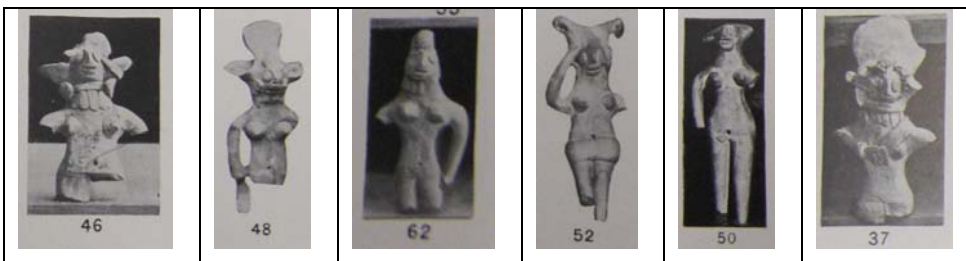


Figure 3: These are examples of the figurines found at Harappā. They are from Vats 1940 Plate LXXXVII.

Harappā is a famous Indus Valley Civilization city located in north-central Pakistan. This report provides a detailed summary of the features of each figurine, with the second volume providing photographs (Vats 1940). The location of each

figurine is provided, but the associated artefacts are not described in the summary. Instead, one must look for that information in other chapters. Once that is done, a list of nearby artefacts can be created and the context can be established.



Figure 4: These are examples of the figurines found at Mohenjo Daro. They are from MacKay 1938 Plate LXXII.

Mohenjo Daro is another famous Indus Valley Civilization city located near the Indus River in southern Pakistan. MacKay (1937) provides a detailed summary of the features of the figurines in the first volume, and the second volume has photographs (see Fig. 5 for examples). Most of the text describes the features of the figurines. The location and depth of each figurine is provided.

John Marshall's report from Mohenjo Daro (Marshall 1973) contains a lengthy discussion of human figurines in the chapter on religion. There are two sections: one on female Mother Goddess figurines, and one on male figurines that represent a male precursor to Shiva (Marshall 1973: 49-52). In those sections all figurines identified as religious are discussed for several pages. Other figurines are identified as toys, but they receive no discussion. The discussion of religious figurines contains descriptions of figurines embedded in a lengthy account of the Mother Goddess religion. As discussed in Chapter 7, the Mother Goddess theory is not valid and thus Marshall's report does not provide a useful interpretation of the function and meaning of the artefacts.

There is also a brief report on the work conducted at Dholavira (Archaeological Survey of India 2008: 52), an Indus Valley Civilization site in Gujarat. A small fragmentary figurine was found in a circular hut. No other information is provided about the function of the hut.

In all five Indus Valley Civilization reports above, there is context but it does not provide much useful information. It is known which rooms or spaces the figurines were found in, but the functions of the rooms and spaces are not known with certainty. The similarity of the figurines with those of the thesis collection means they can be compared (the validity of such comparison is discussed at the end of the next chapter). However, the context information available cannot be used to determine the functions of the figurines with certainty.

3.5 Excavation Reports with Other Figurines in Context

The twelve excavation reports in this section describe figurines found in context, although they do not closely resemble the figurines in the thesis collection. It is anticipated the data will provide information on how figurines were used in ancient South Asia. The sites are from the Gomāl Valley, Taxila, Inamgaon, the Swāt Valley, Jhusi and Sheri Khan Tarakai. These reports will be reviewed to provide the contextual information the thesis collection lacks.

Dani's (1970) report from the Gomāl Valley provides descriptions of each figurine, with some having context mentioned. Some were found in graves, which could mean they had a mortuary function. However, figurines can have many functions and meanings (see Chapter 5) so it is possible these figurines had more than just a mortuary function. Other human figurines were found on the surface and in all layers except the first (aceramic) layer. One figurine stood on a large flat rectangular base (Dani 1970:64). It is identified as a ritual figurine, but there is no evidence provided to support that function. A flat rectangular base, for example, is not inherently ritual-related. None of the figurines photographed resemble figurines from the collection.

Two excavations at Taxila were also carried out by Marshall (1951, 1979). The 1951 report is specifically about two mounds: Bhir and Sirkap. The figurines at Bhir are mostly dated to the Maurya period with some from the fourth century B.C., while the figurines at Sirkap are primarily Late Śāka-Parthian with some Early Śāka and Greek figurines (Marshall 1951: 444-445).

The 1979 report is about the monastery at Jauliāñ. Seven terracotta figurines mentioned (Marshall 1979: 51) depict Buddha, an ascetic, a layperson and a child from the monastery. There is also a figurine of papal leaves of a Buddha canopy from a

chapel. This is a critically important report for two reasons: the figurines were found in context (a Buddhist monastery) and the figurines depict a known person (the Buddha). To identify a figurine as Siddhartha Gautama, or the Buddha, it is necessary to know what the Buddha looked like. This is possible because the Buddha is still worshipped and revered today, and Buddhists can identify the images they make of him. There is also a large amount of literature from antiquity about the Buddha that can be used to identify ancient images of him. Unfortunately this type of information is not available for the Sar Dheri figurines. No one today worships a deity of that description, nor is such a deity mentioned in any literature. It is not even known if the Sar Dheri figurines represent a deity.

Having been found at the Buddhist monastery of Jauliāñ, it is quite certain that terracotta figurines were used by Buddhist monks. What they were used for is not clear. The most intuitive assumption for the Buddha figurine is that it was used as part of worship. That would be likely if the figurine was found in a shrine or similar context, and if the Buddhist in question worshipped the Buddha (which many Buddhists do not). The most intuitive assumption for the function of the layperson figurine is decoration, which would become quite problematic if it were found in a shrine or similar context.

Inamgaon, a site from the second millennium B.C. in Maharashtra, yielded a few figurines (Dhavalikar, Sankalia & Ansari). The chronology of the site is based on 38 carbon dates, ranging from 1460 to 1225 B.C. (Dhavalikar et al. 1988: 133). The period of 1600 to 1000 B.C. makes Inamgaon contemporary with the Late Harappān period (Dhavalikar et al. 1988: 1002). This time span marks the Malwa period at the site, with 1400-1000 B.C. indicating the Jorwe period. The lack of calibration, though, makes those dates questionable. As for the figurines, the majority are female (38 out of 50) with 12 out of 50 male figurines (Dhavalikar et al. 1988: 571).

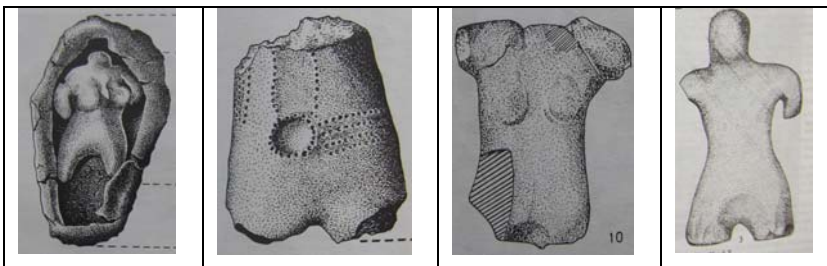


Figure 5: examples of the figurines from Inamgaon. The one on the far left is the female in box figurine described above. The one on the middle left has a pattern similar to Vol. 2. #132. The two on the right are examples of the other figurines found at Inamgaon. They are from Dhavalikar 1988 Figure 15.18 (far left) Figure 13.20 (middle left) Figure 13.22 (middle right) Figure 13.24 (far right).

Contextual information is provided on the figurines. One figurine was found in a pit in the middle of three silo pits (Dhavalikar et al. 1988: 580), with another one found in a house's courtyard. A small round pit in Layer 14 of Square G7 contained an oval clay box with a female figurine inside (Fig. 1, far left), as well as a bull and another female figurine. All were unbaked and placed in the pit very carefully, according to the report: "...all

appear to have been placed in the pit with a definite purpose which we will never know" (Dhavalikar et al. 1988: 571). That statement demonstrates proper scepticism. It adds, "A reasonable guess can however be hazarded" (Dhavalikar et al. 1988: 571), and speculates it may have been related to a fertility ritual.

With context and interpretations provided for the Inamgaon figurines, the argument must be judged. Why would someone place an unbaked female figurine and a bull figurine in a pit in a house? One possibility is it was a religious ritual. In the past, archaeologists have had a tendency to overuse religious explanations and assign religious meaning to mundane things. A number of examples are discussed in Chapter 7 of this thesis. However, religious explanations must still be considered.

The best indicator of a religious function is the unbaked clay. In India today it is very common to create unbaked clay sculptures for religious uses. However, 3,000 years separates Inamgaon from the present day. That is plenty of time for one practice to stop and another very separate practice to begin. That does not prove there is no continuity though; rather it proves the need to prove there is continuity. Therefore we may be seeing a very early instance of a modern practice although we cannot assume it is definitely true.

The female and the bull are much weaker evidence of a religious function. On what basis are we to argue that the combination is religious? They are unbaked, but that is not proven so we cannot use it to prove other things. Bulls are associated with fertility in the Near East, but that does not prove anything. To make that claim we would need to prove a cultural connection between India and the Near East, and the evidence makes it clear they are quite separate. There is no ethnographic data that would make this likely. Therefore Dhavalikar et al. were quite accurate when they said, "...a definite purpose which we will never know" (1988: 571). This contextual data is a good start, but we need much more data before a pattern is established, and textual evidence is needed to get the ideas behind the practice.

This report has examples of the use of ethnographic and literary data to interpret artefacts. Dhavalikar et al. (1988: 579) mention the practice in rural Maharashtra of digging a pit in the room where a woman is giving birth. The use of ethnographic data will be examined in Chapter 4, and the use of literary data will be examined in Chapter 7. The report says a figurine was designed to be perfectly mounted onto a bull, and this may show the concept of a mount found in later Hinduism (Dhavalikar et al. 1988: 579). It is entirely possible Inamgaon has early instances of modern practices, but caution should be used in making claims about cultural continuity. The issue of time depth will be further examined in Chapter 4.

The Swāt Valley is located in northern Pakistan on the border with Afghanistan. This puts it very close to the findspots for most of the figurines in the thesis collection. It is therefore very important that excavations from this area be considered. Antonini's (1972) report is about the Gandhāra Graves Culture and has plates showing Protohistoric figurines from the Loebanr site in the Swāt Valley. Plate XLVII shows four figurines. The lines of dots are identical to those found in the thesis collection, but the shape of the head and hips is completely different. In Plate XLVIIIc, however, the head is identical to one figurine in the collection. In Plate LI figurines have holes through the head, something not found at all in the collection. Due to these differences, the figurines from Loebanr will not be identified with the thesis collection figurines. This is in accordance with the conclusions reached regarding the comparison of figurines in Chapter 4.

Another report from the Swāt Valley (Stacul 1987) does not have similar figurines but does provide some context. These excavated figurines were mostly found on the floor around the hearths of dwellings (Stacul 1987: 111). This indicates the figurines were used in a domestic context. However, it is centuries away from most of the thesis collection figurines and there is no evidence of a connection, but the thesis collection has no context at all so contextual data must be found wherever it is available.

The site of Charbagh is located at the border of the Upper Swāt in northern Pakistan near the border with Afghanistan (Barger & Wright 1941: 10). Unlike the previous two reports, this is from a different excavation at a different place in the same area. One figurine resembles some figurines in this collection (Plate 8 #2). It was found in trench B along with a stone ring, an animal figurine and some glass beads (Barger & Wright 1941: 62). The site in general yielded lots of pottery and animal bones. Some walls were found, but they were not excavated thoroughly enough to determine the type of building (Barger & Wright 1941: 30). The emphasis in this report is clearly on Buddhist architecture and sculpture.



Figure 6. A figurine from Jhusi similar to the Sar Dheri figurines (Archaeological Survey of India 2004)

Jhusi is located near Allahabad, which is far to the south and east of Gandhāra (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 165). At the site a human figurine was found, and it is the only one outside of Gandhāra that fits the Sar Dheri type. The eyes are similar to the circle slit eyes of the collection. There are points of similarity, but it is not possible to make a connection between Jhusi and Gandhāra (based on the principles to be discussed in Chapter 4). This figurine is dated to the Northern Black Polished Ware phase of potentially 1000 to 300 BC (Singh 2008: 259), which is consistent with the discussion of the dating of figurines in Wheeler's report from Chārsadda (1962). Postholes, floors and hearths are mentioned, which implies a domestic context. Dating is based on pottery type and the presence or absence of iron. Figurines are also mentioned in Archaeological

Survey of India 2003: 167.

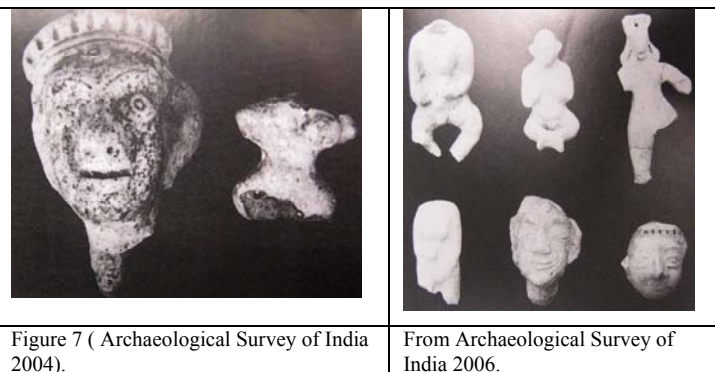
Recent research (Knox, Thomas, Khan & Petrie 2010) in northwest Pakistan revealed many human figurines at Sheri Khan Tarakai, but none of the artefacts resemble the figurines in the collection. The majority were surface finds (Knox et al. 2010: 228-246). In trench 5A a human figurine was found with two ring stones (Knox, Thomas & Khan 2010: 426), while in trench 5D two human figurines were discovered with a terracotta cone and ring stone (Knox, Thomas & Khan 2010: 426-427). There seems to be an association between human figurines and ring stones. Once it is known what the ring stones are for, they may shed light on the use of the figurines (Knox et al. 2010: 222). Other figurines were found with pottery, quernstones and bangles. Also discovered in trench 5 was a structure consisting of a curved line of stones (Khan, Knox, Thomas & Petrie 2010a: 51). Regarding function, the report only says “they were created and used for a range of unknown functions” (Knox et al. 2010: 216). There is good reason for this caution. Figurines can have many functions and meanings, and this variety of contexts and associated artefacts could reflect that. The problem is this is a very vague answer, and the goal is always a clear answer (even if it is a complex and multifaceted answer). However, Knox et al.’s answer does not stray too far from the available evidence.

The report from Sonkh is a very high quality excavation publication (Härtel 1993). The figurines section is many pages long, has exact findspots, descriptions and photographs of every figurine. Thus there is a very large amount of information available. However, none of the figurines found at this site are comparable with the figurines in the thesis collection. Pictures are from Härtel 1993: 96, 96, 108, 116.

These 12 reports do not have figurines that closely resemble the figurines in the thesis collection, but they do provide some context information on ancient South Asian figurines. It may be able to shed some light on the functions and meanings of the figurines. This information can be used later, after the issues of function and meaning have been discussed in Chapters 5-8.

3.6 Other Excavation Reports

Many reports mention figurines but provide no context information and the figurines do not resemble anything in the thesis collection. They will be mentioned here to provide a complete account of the available literature.



Śravastī (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 213), a site just outside Kolkata in West Bengal, consists of a temple complex. Terracotta figurines were found there, with one photograph of a figurine potentially being of the Sahri Bahlol type. It is dated to the Kuṣāṇa period and is consistent with information reported elsewhere. The Sahri Bahlol figurines, identified as Naigameshīs at Rājghāt (reviewed earlier this chapter), are supposed to be quite widespread (Narain & Agrawala 1978). The description of the period only mentions pottery and structures, thus the dating is less firm than it

could be.

In the second report from Śravastī (Archaeological Survey of India 2006: 148), terracotta figurines were found in a temple complex. They are from Period 2, dated to the first to fourth centuries A.D. The actual dating appears to be based on other artefacts as a Greek coin is mentioned. Oddly, the pottery is said to be Gupta. This makes the dating quite uncertain.

The excavation reports from Nasik and Jorwe (Sankalia & Deo 1955), Pauni (Deo & Joshi 1972) and Agroha in Punjab (Srivastava 1952) do not mention figurines at all. Agroha is right in the area this thesis concentrates on; however, no terracotta figurines are mentioned. The focus is instead on Buddhist architecture. Terracotta animals, tablets, rattles and a dish were mentioned, but no human figurines (Srivastava 1952: 3).

While many reports provide carbon dates, they tend not to be calibrated (Sankalia, Deo & Ansari 1971; Sali 1986). At Navdatoli dating is based on seven carbon dates that range from 2170 to 1244 B.C., but with no calibration mentioned (Sankalia et al. 1971: 40). Dating at Lothal is based on a series of uncalibrated carbon dates and a comparison of artefacts with their counterparts in Sumer and Egypt (Rao 1979). At Tarkhanewala-Dera the carbon dates reported are 1075 B.C. for layer 1, 645 B.C. for layer 3 and 900 B.C. for layer 4, which makes the dating of the site uncertain (Trivedi 2009). However, the report from the site of Kalibangan does have calibrated carbon dates, and the human figurine found was from the Early Harappan level (Lal, Joshi, Thapar & Bala 2003: 25).

Other sites have no carbon dates at all. At Satanikota each period is characterized by its artifacts, particularly ceramics (Ghosh 1986: 79). At Nagda dating is based on artefacts (especially ceramics and iron) and comparisons with two carbon-dated sites, Hastinapura and Atranjikhhera (Banerjee 1986: 19-21). At Pauni dating is based on ceramics (Nath 1998: 13). Barger and Wright (1941) do not describe dating materials in any detail, and this was written before the invention of absolute dating methods. At Nasik dating is based on coins, inscriptions and pottery (Sankalia & Deo 1955: 27). At Prahladpur dating is based on comparisons with other Northern Black Polished Ware sites that have carbon dates. The dating of Maheshwar is generally based on ceramics, lithics, inscriptions and traveller's accounts (Sankalia, Subbarao & Deo 1958: 16-17). In the first report from Ambaran (Archaeological Survey of India 2005: 52), Buddhist terracotta heads are dated to the Gupta period. Kushan coins are also mentioned. Daimabad is a Chalcolithic site in Maharashtra where human figurines were identified as cult images (Sali 1986: 483), indicating the beginning of ancestor worship and the prevalence of polygamy. Some carbon dates are provided but without calibration (Sali 1986: 45).

Dating is also done stylistically. At Shyam Sundar Tilla (Archaeological Survey of India 2005: 155), friezes of terracotta sculptures depict divinities, sociocultural activities, animals, birds and flowers. The stupa was dated stylistically to the ninth - tenth centuries A.D. At Naurangabad in Punjab, Kuṣaṇa terracotta heads are mentioned in Period I along with a house (Archaeological Survey of India 2008:69). At Mardkheda (Archaeological Survey of India 2001: 208) a broken male figurine was found in a pit. No dating is provided, and there are structures but their function is not identified. Terracottas and Satavahana coins were found at Sasanikota but no details are provided (Archaeological Survey of India 2006: 1). The structures at the site were houses. At Maheshwar (Sankalia et al. 1958), six figurines are mentioned. Four were identified as a mother and child type. They were dated to the late Gupta period, and the report quoted Gordon as saying that the mother and child type was not earlier than the Kuṣaṇa period, and the Gupta dating is argued based on form and manufacturing (Sankalia et al. 1958: 102). The report from Khapra-Khodia (ASI 2000:21) mentioned a terracotta figurine and coins with writing in Greek and Brahmi. No details were provided.

In addition to carbon and stylistic dating, some reports also provide thermoluminescence dates. At Bhagwanpura (Joshi 1993) the chronology section mentions thermoluminescence dates although no details are provided on collection or calibration. At Sringaverapura dating is based on carbon and thermoluminescence with no details provided (Lal 1993:14). Finally, some reports do not mention dating or chronology at all. These issues with chronological information severely limit the usefulness of these reports in shedding light on the thesis collection. Absolute dates are essential to constructing a chronology and determining a figurine's relationship with other figurines.

Other reports provide the context of the site, but do not indicate which figurines are in which specific context. This is quite problematic, because to have contextual information on figurines the researcher needs to know which contexts each specimen was found in. In the report from Agiabir (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 196), terracotta figurines are mentioned in the small finds. Structural remains include postholes, ovens (if they are indeed ovens) and floors of rammed sherds. These ovens would indicate a kitchen, but it is not said if the figurines were found there, so any connection between them and a kitchen is purely speculative.

In the report from Lachhura (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 138), one female figurine is described as “a fine piece of art showing only the bust” and “a terracotta head with broad lips, open mouth, big nose and hair tied artistically” (Archaeological Survey of India 2004:141) is also mentioned. These are from period 3 (300-100 B.C.). Figurines are also mentioned in period 1 contexts (700-500 B.C.), described as crude in one case and well-formed in another. One trench is said to contain a habitation deposit; no other details are given. Once again, it is impossible to determine whether the figurines are from the habitation deposit.

The report from Suryapahar (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 5) states an undated figurine was found, but it is not comparable with the thesis collection. The site is a temple complex so the figurine is in a religious context, but no further details are provided. Even then, while Suryapahar in general was religious, it is possible the figurine had a secular purpose not related to the religious practices of the temple complex.

In the reports from Rajpat Mound (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 204, 2005: 221), a citadel, house, temple and ghats were mentioned. A coin was found of a sultan who attacked the site in the fifteenth century A.D. The site of Sugh is a citadel (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 24) where two handmade terracotta figurines were found but no details are provided. The report from Chichali (Archaeological Survey of India 2005: 89) mentions terracotta figurines at the house structures. The figurines are dated from 1100 to 700 B.C. The site of Hathab (Archaeological Survey of India 2005:45) in Gujarat has that figurines bear some resemblance to the collection. They are mentioned in the period 3/Maitraka section, which is dated to the fifth - seventh centuries A.D. Structures at this site include brick buildings and a brick well.



Figure 8. Figurines from Hathab. From Archaeological Survey of India 2005 pg 44.

Terracotta figurines were found at Ambaran (Archaeological Survey of India 2005: 68) but no photographs are provided, which hampers comparison. There was a concentration of figurines at the entrance of an important complex, and the figurines decorated a wall. Other finds include a princely male head, a mould of a lady with elaborate jewellery and hair ornaments, two heads and Kushan coins. There are several structures, including a votive stupa. It is suggested this is a monastery.



Figure 10. From Bandyopadhyay 2007 Plate LXVIII



From Bandyopadhyay 2007 Plate LXIX

Udayagiri-2, a Buddhist monastery complex, has two human figurines (Bandyopadhyay 2007: 111-112). One is a plaque depicting the Buddha, and the other is a fragmentary female figurine. In the *Indian Archaeology: A Review* report, female figurines and terracotta plaques were found in a Buddhist shrine complex (Archaeological Survey of India 2005: 124).

The site of Ratnagiri in southwestern Maharashtra is about

Buddhist remains. It extensively describes stupas and Buddhist sculptures with no section dedicated to terracotta figurines. The black and white photographs do not include any figurines of the type in this collection (Mitra 1983). Sringaverapura in Uttar Pradesh has figurines that came from various votive tanks. The photographs indicate they are heads of types not found in this collection (Lal 1993: 111).

Sannathi is a site in northern Karnataka. The report mentions the area produced many terracotta figurines but does not provide specific information (Howell 1995: 88). Some drawings (1995: 89) and a photograph (1995: Plate XXXI) are provided. The heads are quite detailed, providing many points of comparison. The decorations do not match anything in the collection, and the facial features do not match most of the figurines with heads. The report mentions many figurines were found in the inner citadel, but provides no other context information.

There are also many reports where figurines are included, but no context information is given at all. In these reports, photographs may be provided, and the figurines bear no resemblance to the thesis collection (comparison will be discussed in the next chapter). Terracotta figurines were found from all periods at Ramchaura (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 17) but as no structures or dating information are provided, there is no context. Kalibangan is an Indus Valley Civilization site in



Figure 11. From Lal 2003
pg 233 Plate XLII

Rajasthan where one human figurine was found (Lal et al. 2003: 231). It was a hand-modelled person with a pinched face from the middle of Period I, as it was found in the Early Harappān level. The unit is not specified nor are associated artefacts. In the report from Hella Bazpur (Archaeological Survey of India 2005: 16), terracotta figurines were found. No details are provided, other than they were found with all the other artefacts. At Pakhanna (Archaeological Survey of India 2005: 197) terracotta figurines are mentioned in Period I (fourth - first century B.C.). But no structures are mentioned and the dating is not explained. However, one report says there is no context and explains why. At Malhar (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 177) a terracotta figurine of Lakṣmi was found and dated to the second century

A.D., but it was also mentioned the area was highly disturbed due to large pits. Other examples of such reports include Navdatoli (Sankalia, Deo and Ansari 1971), Satanikota (Ghosh 1986), Nagda (Banerjee 1986), Kalibangan (Lal 2003), Bhagwanpura (Joshi 1993), Sringaverapura (Lal 1993), Kauśambi (Sharma 1960), Prahladpur (Narain 1968), Maheshwar (Sankalia 1958), Brahmapuri (Sankalia 1952), Lothal (Rao 1972), Lodruvapatan (ASI 2003: 246), Khapra-Khodia (ASI 2001: 21), Hella Bazpur (ASI 1999: 16), Pakhanna (ASI 1999: 197), Ramchaura (ASI 1998: 17), Pauni (Nath 1998), Tarkhanewala-Dera (Trivedi 1998), Lachhura (ASI 1998:141).

4.0 Comparative Analogy

In the previous section, the existing literature on Indian terracotta figurines was surveyed. The main benefit of surveying other South Asian figurines is they can be compared with the figurines in the thesis collection. However, the possibility of comparison raises an issue: how is comparison to be done in a rigorous manner? Is it enough to say that similarity in appearance means the two are connected, or must more rigorous methods be used?

In comparative analogy, two objects are compared and conclusions about one are drawn based on similarities with the other (Caple 2006: 44). It is not as simple and straightforward as simply looking for some similarity as it does not mean two objects are automatically identical or connected. Similarity only means objects are identical or connected under certain conditions and with certain degrees of similarity. This chapter surveys the methodological and theoretical literature on comparisons in archaeology, and describes the reasoning used to identify artefacts which will be used to make comparisons between figurines in the collection and those not in the collection.

4.1 Strengths and Weakness of Analogies

In artefact analysis, most reasoning is based on analogy. Research methods cannot be implicit or intuitive; the process must be made explicit and the issues involved must be understood. Ian Hodder (1982) explained in great detail how to use analogies effectively in archaeology. The first major point is that archaeological analogies form a spectrum. An analogy is not either completely true or completely false; its strength is a continuum, and there are weak analogies and strong analogies. At one end there are analogies that assume if two things have certain similarities, they will have other similarities. At the other end are analogies that assume if two things are connected they will have certain things in common (Hodder 1982: 16). The second major point determines the kinds of conclusions an archaeologist can draw as ideas in archaeology cannot be proven or disproven (Hodder 1982: 23). The problem is there are always alternative interpretations so analogies can only be made weaker or stronger.

An analogy can be strengthened by finding more similarities and is stronger if the two things are nearly identical rather than having a few superficial resemblances. An archaeologist must avoid “that unavoidable resemblance which one crude representation in terracotta is bound to share with another” (Gordon 1935: 117). It is not enough to simply say that two figurines are similar and therefore connected. It must be argued the similarity is meaningful.

Two plain bodies are not good for comparison, because even if the shape is similar it could be coincidental. If two figurines with many decorations are identical, then there is a stronger chance of a connection. Each new characteristic added to the figurine increases the possibility of variation, and with more variation, the lower the chance of two unrelated figurines being similar. For this reason, elaborate figurines are better for comparison than simple figurines. An undecorated body in India is bound to look like an undecorated body in Crete, and that similarity only means they were both made to look like humans. Heavily ornamented figurines, however, provide many points of comparison, and religious iconography varies enough that similarities might actually mean something. Another way of strengthening analogies is to argue that two characteristics are associated in widely separated parts of the world. This is best done with many cultures spread over several continents.

Some factors that weaken an analogy include copying other cultures (Rome did this to Greece), being widespread or long-lived, simplicity (the undecorated bodies mentioned previously), and idiosyncratic objects that do not reflect their cultures (Caple 2006: 45). The ambition of the claims being made must equal the strength of the analogy (Hodder 1982: 19). Weak analogies should produce only tentative conclusions, and definite conclusions with far-reaching implications can only be made based on strong analogies. Analogies are strongest when there are many points of similarity, there are intermediate forms and there is a relationship between the two objects.

Hodder's book is now 30 years old, and much has happened in archaeological method and theory since then. The greatest change has been post-processualism. Its key tenets are cultures are fundamentally different rather than similar, and individuals are active agents instead of passive recipients. This would seem to contradict the idea that comparison is possible. Comparison assumes that cultures have enough in common to be compared, and if cultures are fundamentally different, then they might not be comparable. There also might be a middle ground, where global comparisons and research inside a single context are both valid and productive parts of archaeological research. This idea will be examined later in this chapter.

For example, the Chalcolithic site of Navdatoli on the Narmada River in Madhya Pradesh boasts nine figurines: five are protohistoric and four are Early Historic (Sankalia et al. 1971: 386). They are said to be similar to those from Nevasa, Chandoli. Bahal and Inamgaon. Only brief summaries are provided, and no photographs are available (with only a few sketches), thus no scrutiny of the claims of similarity can be made. One problem with the figurines found at Jauliāñ and other Buddhist sites (such as Jetavana [Aboshi 1997], Udayagiri-2 [Bandyopadhyay 2007], and Ratnagiri [Mitra 1983]) is that they are Buddhist objects found in Buddhist sites, and this great difference in ideology greatly weakens any analogies between them and the figurines in the thesis collection.

4.2 Cultural Continuity

Ethnoarchaeology consists of using ethnographic means to archaeological ends, although there is a potential obstacle: the separation in time between the people who made the figurines and the present. There are two problematic approaches to the use of ethnography. One is the assumption that nothing about India ever changes, and that ancient India looked just like India today. The second is that cultures change, therefore nothing can be taken as a constant. There should be a middle ground between the two. Ethnographic data should be critically evaluated to determine, case by case, whether information from the present applies to the past.

An early study of cultural continuity in Indian figurines was done by Stella Kramrisch (1939), who divided Indian human figurines into ageless types and timed variations. The ageless types persist without changing, being constant from the beginning of Indian figurines to the present. She provided examples such as *liṅgas*, Salagrama stones and the Great Mother (under the names Śrī, Śasthi, Aditi and Sinivali). The idea is that the *liṅgas* and Salagrama stones have been used for thousands of years, and in all that time they have not changed. They are described as simpler and less spectacular than the timed variations which are temporary and reflect the time in which they were made.

It is true there are some things that never change. The creation of terracotta figurines, for example, has been a constant since 7000 B.C. in Mehrgarh. The figurines in the thesis collection represent a (relatively) brief instance of a long-running phenomenon. It is only their general existence that is constant. Function and style are not constants; they vary considerably across space and time. The figurines in this collection have different decorations and are shaped differently from figurines in other collections. However, one aspect of iconography – deities – has been known to change. There are representations of goddesses that are no longer worshipped or remembered in any way, and Hindu literature shows changes in known deities. It is already well known from the most basic history of Hinduism that mythologies and theologies change. Once there was the Rig Veda, then the Upanishads followed. Buddhism emerged, and then Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śaktism developed at definite points in recorded history and evolved through time. To adequately prove that a figurine is timeless and eternal, identical figurines would have to be found and dated to every period of South Asian history. The figurines in the thesis collection are very much an example of timed variations. They are localized in time and space, and are not found throughout the entire span of South Asian history. The Sar Dheri and Sahri Bahlol figurines have both been given specific date ranges (though not exact dates). They are confined to specific parts of South Asian history, and are in no way timeless. The Sahri Bahlol figurines have a wide distribution across northern South

Asia, but have not been found outside that area. The Sar Dheri figurines are very localized, having only been found in the vicinity of Charsādda.

4.3 Examples of the Use of Ethnography

Material objects are not just found in archaeological sites; they are actively used by present-day cultures as well. In ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological research, the researcher can study artifacts while they are being used and the makers and users can answer questions about them. This has great potential as a source of information on figurines, and has already been done many times in many places. Ethnographic data on art in Papua New Guinea has been used to interpret the social role of figurines in Neolithic Italy (Skeates 2007: 205). The cultures being compared in this analogy are very far apart, and that is a potential source of problems. In this case, however, it is plausible because power relations and strategies regarding them occur on every continent. That makes this idea a good starting point for further investigation. Another ethnographic analogy is the use of the term *liminal*, which comes from the work of ethnographer Victor Turner (Skeates 2007: 202). This is something that can be tested using the context of the figurines, which makes it useful for interpreting the data after the information has been gathered and organized.

D.K. Bhattacharya's study of the religious use of terracotta by the Bauri people of Bengal in India focuses on their worship of a ceramic vessel with snake hoods (Bhattacharya 1989: 14) in which they placed horse and elephant terracottas around it. Bhattacharya turns to history to explain why they use horses and elephants. He argues that the Bauris have served local kings since the early medieval period, and horses and elephants always travelled with the king (Bhattacharya 1989: 18). This ritual was initially restricted to a specific cactus, but it came to include terracotta images. He argues the figurines were added when the Bauris became employed as healers of snakebites and needed to make their rituals more elaborate in order to be more effective. Using history to explain present practices mitigates the issue of cultural continuity by providing some information on when the practices originated and how far back they actually go.

The conditions under which cultural traditions change need to be determined. Bhattacharya shows that figurine use increase with a change in social relations. This concept needs to be done with the rest of Indian history. There was great culture change in the Late Harappān period. Would this have caused changes in the use and appearance of figurines? What about periods of culture change in later times? Cultural continuity would not be an issue if the discontinuities were discovered. Then we would know what is connected and what is separate. This is primarily an issue of the evolution of figurines. If the figurines had absolute dates, contextual information and information on their source, then it would be possible to discover how the Indus Valley Civilization, Sar Dheri, Sahri Bahlol and other figurines fit into the evolution of South Asian figurines.

4.4 Lesure's Approach to Figurine Studies

Lesure (2007, 2011) identifies three theoretical approaches - contextualism, universalism and grand historicism – to answer two main questions: Is the purpose of archaeology to devise universal processes that explain mechanistically how culture works, or is it to follow the development of a subject over a long period of time?

Contextualism focuses on the specifics of a particular place, while universalist explanations create theories that explain how all cultures work. Grand historicism follows the history of a concept across vast stretches of space and time. Lesure argues these three concepts are not at all separate, even if one is the main focus of the research. His synthesis includes the goals and concerns of the traditional paradigms of archaeology (culture history, processualism and post-processualism), and reconciles their differences.

Lesure describes the perception of resemblances as “the province of an under-theorized traditionalism – a question of the first glance” (Lesure 2011: 217). He argues that contextualism (which is highly localized) and comparison (which is much broader)

are not incompatible, but actually complementary, and makes three key points (Lesure 2011: 41): sometimes there is no common explanation; it is not possible to produce a universal set of criteria for an attribute so local contextualizations of the attribute must always be used; and universal explanations can make sense of variations and similarities. As the only information available from the thesis collection is from the figurines themselves, caution must be used to not propose links that have no cultural reality. Lesure evaluates various attempts at universalist explanations, such as the Mother Goddess idea and Morss' (1954) explanation of the abundance of early female figurines. He argues that Morss' theory of correlations between figurines, agriculture and ceramics is false.

For Lesure, contextual and universal approaches are not separate but dependent on one another (Lesure 2011: 44). Contextual theories make use of universalist logic and assumptions, while universalist theories need contextual research so both differences and similarities can be examined. To explain the abundance of female figurines, Lesure looked at figurines in their local contexts, using different analytical modes for different circumstances. If the same modes were useful in different contexts, then there would be a strong chance that a universal explanation exists. If each context could be explained only using different modes, then there would be little chance they have a universal cause.

The first is comparison of observable characteristics of figurines. The second topic is explanations of femaleness in figurines. The latter is quite relevant to the thesis, as the vast majority of figurines are female. The former is tremendously relevant, as comparison forms a key part of the analysis in this thesis.

In grand historicism the aim is to follow the history and evolution of a concept, from its origins to the latest manifestations. Lesure argues this should be approached as a cross-contextual study, and describes grand history as "the decision of whether or not to link contexts" (Lesure 2011: 43).

Lesure applied his theory to figurines in Mesoamerica, Europe and the Near East. While he made only two references to Mehrgarh, the Indian figurines can be studied using the concepts of contextualism, universalism and grand history. Contextualism would consist of studying figurines from individual sites based on excavation reports. The interpretations in this thesis are essentially contextual as they stay within the contexts of the figurines being studied. These individual contexts can then be linked across space and time in a grand historical study. In India this could span a period of 9,000 years, from the first figurines in Mehrgarh (7000 B.C.) to the present day. This would be very useful to other studies of culture change and continuity throughout India's history, as change and continuity in figurines could shed light on the change and continuity in other artefacts. One potential study is the relationship (or lack thereof) between Mehrgarh and the Indus Valley Civilization, and Mehrgarh and the Near East, or if Mehrgarh was a completely indigenous development. It is also important to know if there is continuity from Mehrgarh I to the Mature Harappan period. Universalist research would go beyond India and discover the origin and femaleness of Indian figurines in worldwide themes and patterns. Local contexts in India would be compared with those in Europe, the Near East, Mesoamerica and Japan.

Now how does this apply to the study of this collection of figurines? The most applicable part is Lesure's discussion of issues with comparison. He argues that one must critically examine assumptions of difference or similarity between contexts. This is very important as it offers a new level of rigour in archaeological research, and it is not in Hodder's (1982) earlier work on comparison. This was done to a certain extent in the sexing of the thesis collection figurines. The indeterminate category and the general caution exist because sexing draws on a universal concept of femaleness that may have contextual variations. With detailed contextual and chronological information on these figurines, it will be possible to 1) do contextual research on a specific area (such as the distribution of Sar Dheri figurines), 2) do grand historical research on South Asian figurines and fit the Indus Valley Civilization, Sar Dheri and Sahri Bahlol figurines into that, and 3) fit those figurines into a universal study of figurines, and establish the place of South Asian figurines among the figurines of the world.

4.5 Modelling Trade and Distributions

Objects can be made and consumed locally, or traded and used away from their point of origin. Studying this involves determining the source of the material, comparing the object with items in other areas, and determining how it moved (gift-giving, purchase, looting, etc.). Possible models include direct access to raw materials, reciprocal trade between two groups, down-the-line trading, redistribution by a central authority, markets, contracts, freelance merchants and itinerant artisans (Caple 2006: 142-143). This depends on the knowledge of both the source and distribution of the figurines. The distribution is known somewhat from the excavation reports. With the Sar Dheri figurines, they appear to be heavily concentrated in Gandhāra, but a more specific origin cannot be determined. The Sahri Bahlol figurines are evenly distributed over a wide swath of northern India, and their origin could be anywhere from Gandhara to Varanasi. However, due to the total lack of laboratory work the origin of the figurines is not known, and there is not enough information available to determine why they each have different distributions.

4.6 Comparison with the Figurines of the Thesis Collection

The majority of the figurines belong to the Sar Dheri type, with identical figurines found at Chārsadda by Mortimer Wheeler (1962). Are they connected? There are two factors that increase the possibility of a connection. The first is they are from the same geographic area. The Sar Dheri figurines are from the Peshawar district, which includes Chārsadda. The second factor is these elaborately decorated figurines have many points of comparison and they are nearly always identical. However, the lack of context makes it impossible to confirm they had the same function and meaning. It cannot be ruled out that they are similar in appearance but otherwise very different.

The excavation reports from Rājghāt and Ahicchatrā include many figurines identified as Naigameśīs. They are identical in appearance to the Sahri Bahlol figurines in the thesis collection. However, Sahri Bahlol, Rājghāt, and Ahicchatrā are in very different part of South Asia. In addition, the lack of context from any of those sites once again makes it impossible to confirm they had the same function and meaning. There are also four figurines that closely resemble figurines in the excavation reports from Mohenjo Daro, Chanhudaro, and Harappā.

Kala (1980) provides a large collection of figurines for comparison, and a few can be compared with those in the collection. The similarity is noted but no connections are assumed. Connections must be based on much more than a superficial resemblance. With so many figurines Kala's book has great potential but it falls short. Each figurine is not given detailed contextual information such as its exact location in the unit or nearby artefacts.

Over the course of this discussion of comparison, the issues of the function and the meaning of the figurines have been mentioned but not discussed. The next chapter will rectify that.

5.0 Function and Meaning of Artifacts

Figurines have functions: they were used for something. How does an archaeologist go about determining what an artefact was used for? Figurines also have meaning. When analyzing artefacts, an inevitable question is, “What did it mean to them?” Exact definitions are required so both the researcher and reader know exactly what is being done and why it is being done that way. This chapter discusses the concepts of function meaning in the context of terracotta figurines. Relevant works of research will be reviewed, concluding with the definition of meaning to be used in this thesis.

5.1 Analysis of Use and Social Analysis

This section is about two modes of analysis: Analysis of Use and Social Analysis. The former determines the function of an artefact: what task(s) it accomplished. Social Analysis takes the analysis of function further by determining what role the object played in the social organization of the culture being studied. This depends on a thorough knowledge of both social organization and the uses of figurines, with the most crucial part being context. Context provides the use of the artefact while an excavated site will provide the social organization. Historical accounts are also useful when literate people are being studied. Excavations have been conducted in the area at Chārsadda (Wheeler 1962, Coningham & Ali 2007), but they did not yield figurines in a primary context.

One example of social analysis comes from Crete where figurine decorations were used to learn about Minoan social organization (Pilali-Papastreriou 1989). For example, headdresses and daggers were associated with social status. While it would be useful to do that sort of analysis with the thesis collection, it relies on certain problematic assumptions. Independent evidence is needed to show that headdresses and daggers were indeed associated with high social status. Without such evidence, only speculation based on how such things usually work is possible, and it is always possible this instance is an exception. This information might be very useful if the decorations (such as lotus pods and rosettes) were associated with specific social groups. This could be determined either through writing or very detailed contextual information. However, there is no literature on the figurines, and the most detailed contextual information available is the village they were found near.

It would be useful to South Asian archaeology if figurines could be used to establish the boundaries of social groups. However, material culture and ethnicity often do not line up. In the Sepik Coast of New Guinea, networks of exchange cross many linguistic boundaries (Welsch 1998). Ethnic groups are often the creation of colonial administrators and ethnographers, and ethnicities are more likely to consist of changing social relations than historic givens (MacEachern 1998: 111-113). In addition, the concept of ethnicity is based on European nationalism and the rest of the world does not necessarily work that way. In the Mandara mountains of Cameroon, people identify with their territorial lineages, and ethnicities are quite secondary (MacEachern 1998: 122). People regularly marry across ethnic lines, and thus there is much movement of the women who make pottery. There are several dichotomies that govern identity there, such as mountain dweller and plains dweller, animists and Muslims, and specialists and non-specialists (MacEachern 1998: 129).

In ancient India, the most important groups to identity were caste and occupation (Singh 2008: 418). Styles could also potentially vary from village to village, or between groups with different religious customs. Understanding this requires the study of the distribution of figurine styles over a region. The figurines must have detailed contextual data to determine social class, economic class and religious affiliation. It also needs to be proven that figurines do in fact correlate with social identity. It is possible that social boundaries cross-cut figurine boundaries.

5.2 Facts and Ideas Associated with Objects, Iconography and Symbolic Analysis

The first topic within meaning is the ideas associated with an object. When analyzing art, an art historian will always talk about what people, objects or events it represents, and what feelings and associations it invokes. These facts and ideas can be divided into five categories (based on Caple 2006: 45). There are two ways to approach this: the study of iconography and symbolic analysis. Iconography is the surface study of subject matter that identifies the people, objects and events depicted. In this collection, the lotus pods (Figurines #41-98) and rosettes (Figurines #81-98) could potentially be symbolic. Archaeologists have found much material from the cities of the Indus Valley Civilization, and there is good information of such things as subsistence and civil engineering. However, we have no literature and no oral history survives. Therefore, nothing can be said with certainty who is portrayed in the figurines, even though many attempts have been made by, as demonstrated by all the research discussed in this thesis.

Symbolic analysis is the deep study of subject matter. Objects, people and events can have qualities, meanings, symbolic value and abstract ideas associated with them. A castle can symbolize strength and security in addition to its functional purpose, while a depiction of the Virgin Mary no doubt means purity and innocence (Caple 2006: 45). Material objects can also have both verbal and non-verbal meanings (Fletcher 1998). This can be taken quite far: a connoisseur can read more into an object than the creator ever did, and this is done very often in the humanities. We can also analyze, either consciously or not, the significance of the symbols used. Even if we do not know who the person was, we can figure out what lotus pods and rosettes mean. One way to do this is through literature. If the significance of those decorations were written down, they would be known. Another method is context. If lotus pods and rosettes are found only in a specific context, then we can give them the associations of their context. The problem with this is the figurines of the thesis are not sufficiently explained in any known literature, and they have never been found in any context (Gordon's scraps of information are not sufficient for rigorous symbolic analysis). Thus excavations need to be conducted in the Gandhāra area before we can attempt a symbolic analysis.

5.3 The Meanings in Figurines

When archaeologists analyze the meaning of an artefact, they use things that are present as their data, such as decorations, body parts or paint. However, one can also do the opposite: study things that are not present, like Douglass Bailey did (Bailey 2007). For Bailey, the key part of the process of miniaturization is the selection of what features to include and exclude. The absence of an expected feature focuses attention on the absence, and this compels the viewer to make inferences. Figurines are not models (which are accurate reproductions and have a single meaning) but abstract representations which are vague and create multiple meanings and reactions. When body parts are cropped or dismembered, the viewer is forced to reconstitute the body from the part present, and the post-fragmentation body may be very different from the pre-fragmentation body. Bailey uses psychoanalysis to argue that absence plays a key role, and then uses experimental psychology to argue that the brain is compelled to fill in absences until the representation is complete. As the brain is unable to complete it based on the available information, this creates the potential for new meanings. This is the opposite of rhetoric: it does not convince or persuade anybody, but instead forces people to create open-ended interpretations to fill in the gaps. The strongest part of Bailey's argument is the experimental psychology which says the brain, in its normal operation, will make absence very important. This has important implications for the methodology of this thesis, as absence is now an integral part of the analysis of meaning. In the thesis collection, most of the figurines are missing body parts, while some just have heads missing. This, however, is a result of breakage, which is more relevant to use and taphonomy than meaning (to be discussed below). The faces, however, vary greatly in their detail. In many cases important and expected facial features are not present.

This also goes against the assumption that figurines have one meaning that is assigned by its creator. Instead, it is entirely possible that individuals are creating meanings. Instead, what is important are the many meanings assigned by the creator and all those individuals who used the artefacts. This can be revealed by looking at any written records where people mentioned their beliefs regarding the figurines.

Bailey's *Prehistoric Figurines* (2005) revolves around four theoretical topics with European case studies: miniaturism and dimensionality, anthropomorphism, visual rhetoric, and subverting and manipulating reality. For Bailey, the common theme is the psychological impact upon the viewer. The section on miniaturism and dimensionality discusses the impact of the size of a figurine on the viewer. Thinking in miniature creates contradictions and paradoxes that create a powerful response (Bailey 2005: 42-43). The kind of meaning he is interested in is not what the figurines were, but what effect they had on people. This is quite relevant to the study of meaning, as it incorporates the psychological factors that can influence the meanings people assign to artefacts.

Analyses of religious figurines tend to focus on what they symbolize externally and are not viewed as being important in and of themselves. The archaeologist works to identify the deity or mythological character and the myths represented, and the attributes and qualities associated with them. Lynn Meskell, however, argues that religious figures do not point to the important thing; instead they are the important thing. She approaches figurines as a process rather than a thing. She suggests that the Near Eastern Neolithic might have seen a revolution in cultural concepts of sex and gender, and figurines were part of a process instead of being finished products (Meskell 2007: 141). She also speculated the figurines were not static but quite mobile as they were turned around, handled and moved around, something conventional sketches fail to capture (Meskell 2007: 143).

The goal of research is typically a clear-cut answer and not ambiguous remarks that could mean anything. Archaeologists tend to look for a clear, exact statement about the meaning of figurines. However, Susan Wise (2008) argues this is not how figurines actually work. Instead, the meaning is ambiguous and there are many meanings. In a study of Greek votive offerings, Wise (2002) said they were ubiquitous material objects packed with meaning that is often unclear to modern viewers. As demonstrated in this chapter, one must be careful in determining the meaning and function of a figurine. The most common context of these figurines is the sanctuaries of childbirth deities so the most obvious assumption is they are childbirth votives. One figurine had an exaggerated abdomen, which looks like pregnancy, supporting the childbirth votive hypothesis. This, however, is an oversimplification of the culture's religious beliefs and practices, and Wise advocates a contextual and semiotic approach. While the exaggerated abdomen could look like pregnancy, there could be many other possible meanings associated with an exaggerated abdomen. Another point is that the ambiguity of the meaning is very important. The Greeks actively used ambiguity in their figurines. There were four types of figurines found, and the most ambiguous ones were the most common because they could take on multiple functions and be used more often. This ties in with one of the fundamental tenets of post-processual archaeology: the active individual who creates meaning.

Evangelos Kyriakidis also discusses ambiguous meanings but in a different way: "And this is a common theme in modern art, whereby the beholder receives messages that may have never been intended by the author" (Kyriakidis 2007: 304), and "...most, if not all, of the non-propositional aspects of representation may be perceived in different ways to what was intended" (Kyriakidis 2007: 205). Western archaeologists today are separated from the creators and users of the figurines by half a world and thousands of years. There is a possibility that the users of the figurines saw things that the creators never intended, and archaeologists see things the users and creators never would have imagined. Kyriakidis argues there is propositional and non-propositional content in representations. In his view, thoughts are propositions that all have truth value, and lower cognitive processes (such as feelings) are not propositional. Both are important to the study of representation. The study of function and meaning must include facts, moods and feelings evoked by the image. He says interpretations that do not match the intentions of the creator are not wrong, and the beauty of such study is it can alert people to different viewpoints in different circumstances.

Kyriakidis also distinguishes between icons (identical to the object being represented), indexes (some similarity to the object being represented) and symbols (no similarity to the object being represented).

In earlier sections it was argued the meaning of a figurine is multi-faceted and ambiguous, and different people can find different meanings. It should therefore be considered that the above interpretation could be both true and false, depending on the individual. The creator could have had one meaning in mind, and each viewer could have come up with other meanings. This creates a situation where everything is true and there is no one right answer. It is not an issue of lack of data either. Conducting further research will not lead to one single answer. If anything, more research will lead to more correct answers. This is what the interpretation of meaning consists of: finding many correct answers that vary between individuals, or even between situations for the same individual. Therefore, in the case of this figurine, it is possible that one person thought of sex and another did not; or one person associated it with reproduction while another did not. Or everyone gave the figurine the same meaning.

It is clear that an archaeologist who looks for a clear, exact answer to questions of meaning in figurines is going to be led astray. The ambiguous answer that could mean anything is actually the correct answer, because in ancient cultures figurines could have been given a wide range of meanings. Meaning is not an inherent property of an object; it is a person's reaction to an object. People in a culture view an object the way their culture teaches them to, and people not of that culture have not been taught how to react to an object so they make educated guesses.

5.4 Clark and the Meaning of Harappān Figurines

The great issue with studying the figurines of the Indus Valley Civilization is there is no contextual or literary information about the figurines. Because of this, the only information available is that which comes from the figurines themselves. The artefacts have materials, manufacturing techniques, decorations and shapes, so any analysis of meaning is going to be based on some combination of those four. Clark's (2009) research is about the importance of material and manufacturing (the sources of information that are available) to the meaning of Harappān figurines. Clark says the figurines may not have been a distinct category for the people who made them. Instead, they may have been lumped together with other terracotta objects or objects of that function (Clark 2009: 235). This is a point that does not often appear in archaeological literature, but has been well documented ethnographically. Folk typologies are often found to be quite different from those an educated Westerner would devise (Tyler 1969). The thought processes of a Westerner and an Indian separated by half a world and thousands of years may be very different. Therefore, the makers of the figurines may have organized them into a very different typology.

The figurines are made of clay and in many other cultures clay is a key part of creation (Clark 2009: 240). Huyler (1996) even discusses the significance of clay today. In form and decoration, the similarity in male and female breasts could indicate "a complex and fluid conception of sex and gender in the Harappān world" (Clark 2009: 243). The process of constructing the figurines may have been as important as the figurines themselves (Clark 2009: 246). Most IVC figurines are moulded, except for the human figurines which are hand-modelled. Even though moulding is more efficient than hand modelling, and the IVC was quite capable of it, they still used hand modelling. Clark argues (Clark 2009:248) this means the manufacturing process was a key part of the meaning of the figurines. She then mentions Egyptian shabti figurines were considered to be born, not made, and a similar idea may have been held about by the IVC. The idea that the manufacturing process was infused with meaning is well supported by Clark above, and the interpretations are plausible.

It needs to be pointed out that none of these interpretations have been proven. Evidence in support of them is provided, which makes them plausible. But it is not explained why clay must represent creation and not something else, and in fact such a claim may never have been intended. However, Clark's claims are very well supported, and they represent a good contribution to South Asian figurine studies. Through improvements in analogical reasoning, increased ethnographic and archaeological data and

advances in the interpretation of artefacts, it will be possible to evaluate Clark's ideas. This new approach is very useful to the thesis in one way: it extracts the meanings of the figurines from the figurines themselves, which is what we do have. Clark herself did not come to detailed and definitive conclusions about her figurines, so it does not solve all of the problems in studying the thesis collection, but it has potential.

5.5 Analysis of the Hellenistic Figurines

These figurines are Indo-Greek, made by the Greeks who ruled a kingdom in Gandhāra. This is not surprising as the Greeks in Greece made terracotta figurines for thousands of years, and when they went to India they brought craft of figurine-making with them. The people who made and used these figurines no doubt drew upon their own culture's ideas regarding figurines, and at the same time were probably influenced by the Indians around them. Greek figurines were used in temples as offerings, as grave goods, and in the home as decorations and shrine components (Burn & Higgins 2001: 21). Without any context, though, it is hard to say what these particular figurines were for.

5.6 Analysis of the Indus Valley Civilization Figurines

Four figurines in this collection (Vol. 2 of this thesis, figurines #1-4) come from the Indus Valley Civilization. Three were found at Harappā and do not add anything new to the body of known Indus Valley Civilization figurines. Instead they provide new specimens of figurine types that are already known from the excavation reports (MacKay 1937, 1943; Vats 1940).

In Harappā, many figurines were found in the Great Granary and Cemetery H (Vats 1940). The association with burial jars in the latter suggests those figurines had mortuary functions and meanings. Kenoyer (1998: 64) claimed the Great Granary was really a large public building. The figurines inside would therefore have either a political function, religious function or decorative function, depending on what the building was used for. It is also possible the same figurine could have all three of those functions, depending on where it was being used at the moment. The main problem with this idea is its vagueness. No specific function is suggested; instead, the figurines could represent almost anything.

5.7 Analysis of Other Figurines

Figurine #170 (see entry in Vol. 2) is unique in this collection. It is a female with its legs spread, showing the genitals. At first glance, it provides an excellent example of a figurine whose meaning could be interpreted as sexuality, fertility and reproduction. There are several reasons for that: the woman is nude, as in sex; the legs are spread, making the genitals as visible as possible; and Indian art has a long history of depicting sexuality. But does such an idea hold up under scrutiny? There are no known figurines that are similar to it, so no comparison can be done. Nothing is known about the context, so no contextual research can be done. The assumptions made above are unsupported universalist claims. Therefore nothing can be said with certainty.

5.8 The Definition and Types of Meaning

This chapter has been a survey of various works on issues of meaning in human terracotta figurines. The purpose is to improve artefact analysis methodology by clarifying the often used but vague concept of meaning. Clark argued that material and manufacturing are important to the meaning of figurines. Douglass Bailey argued that certain aspects of perception are important to meaning. Wise argued that meaning is not at all clear-cut but quite ambiguous. In conclusion, the following points constitute a definition of meaning as used in this thesis. Meaning is the creation of the viewer, not the object. It includes representations of people, objects and events, and feelings and associations, both conscious and subconscious. A meaning can be simple and clear-cut, or ambiguous or multi-faceted. It is determined by a combination of the culture of the viewer, the individual experience of the

viewer, and the processes that govern perception. In this thesis, the analysis of meaning means studying an object in light of these concepts.

6.0 The Use of Mythological Literature

Previous studies used mythological literature to interpret the function and meaning of South Asian figurines. Artefacts provide much information on subsistence, manufacturing and social organization but no details of belief systems. Only written and oral literature can provide pantheons and mythologies. This chapter will provide case studies and critiques, and then an evaluation of the use of literature in archaeology. There are issues that come with using mythological literature to identify artefacts, one of them being that later mythology cannot reliably be used to identify older figurines. The last section of this chapter will offer a potential solution to that problem as it reviews an article that seeks to determine the meaning of figurines based on the objects themselves.

6.1 Marshall's Use of Hindu Literature to Identify the Proto-Śiva Seal

Many artefacts include representations of people. Hindu temples walls are often covered with people. Some of those persons are nameless and represent a class of people. Some are named characters from history and mythology, and are associated with stories and many qualities and attributes. Archaeologists want to identify those people and get at the meaning assigned by the makers and viewers. One famous example of using literature to identify artefacts is the Proto-Śiva seal. When John Marshall studied the seals of the Indus Valley Civilization, he used later mythology to identify the people depicted in them. He proposed that the man in what is now known as the Proto-Śiva seal was Śiva (Marshall 1931: 55; also see Wright 2010), a named god with a rich mythology, millions of followers and an ancient history. Marshall came to this conclusion by identifying four attributes depicted in the seal: the man appears to be in the lotus position, and one of Śiva's epithets is Mahāyogī (Great Practitioner of Yoga); the man has three faces, and Śiva is described as a three-faced god; the man is surrounded by animals, and Śiva is the Lord of Animals; and the man has horns, and Śiva would later be associated with the trident.

This interpretation became quite well-known and often quoted, but was later questioned. Srinivasan critiqued and rejected it on inconsistencies between the Proto-Śiva seal and the liṅgas on one side, and Śiva's mythology on the other. The most important inconsistency is the animals. Śiva was the Lord of Animals, but he was specifically the lord of domestic animals, not wild animals, and all four animals depicted in the Proto-Śiva seals are wild (Srinivasan 1984: 82). Srinivasan denies that the yoga posture automatically means it is Śiva, and instead argues it is a symbol of divinity (Srinivasan 1984: 81). Regarding the liṅgas, Srinivasan argues that as one goes back in time, liṅgas become more realistic and less abstract, and the IVC liṅgas (assuming that is what they are) are quite abstract (Srinivasan 1984: 86).

At first glance, Marshall's interpretation seems solid. He identified several points of similarity and concluded there is a connection. On the contrary, Srinivasan argued the points of similarity are not as similar as they appear, and thus a connection cannot be made. Another criticism of Marshall's work was in regards to time (as discussed in cultural continuity section 4.2). The Mature Harappān period lasted from 2600-1900 B.C., and the mythology Marshall used was from about 2,000 years later. The idea was to use the early seal to extend the later mythology back in time, but this only works if the early seal actually is an example of the later mythology. It is not proven that it is, therefore Marshall's identification using mythological literature is problematic.

Regarding similarity, both Marshall and Srinivasan's arguments fit well with the discussion of analogy. An idea was argued based on an abundance of similarities (plus the two points of comparison are in the same area). That idea was then questioned by arguing for a lack of similarities. The question to ask here is: how similar do two things need to be for a connection to be plausible?

6.2 Gangoly's Use of Hindu Literature to Analyze Figurines

O.C. Gangoly's introductory book on the history of Indian terracotta figurines identifies a group of figurines as having a Vedic affiliation by virtue of their girdles. The argument is that in the Atharva Veda the girdle is a long life charm (Gangoly 1959: 12), therefore they are Vedic cult images. Gangoly then ties the figurines into a Vedic mother goddess religion: "This source of fecundating energy, mother-earth or *Prthvī* is formulated in many icons which are worshipped and described under various names in Vedic literature, as Aditi, Vinata, Surasa and Sarama" (Gangoly 1959: 12).

Gangoly is interpreting the meaning and function of artefacts based on the surviving literature without proving they are related to that literature, a theme that also appears in section 5.1. This only works if the artefact was made by Vedic Āryans. If it was made by other people, then using the Vedic literature will simply result in error. This goes against the previous discussion of analogies in section 4.1. No reason was provided by Gangoly to assume two things that resemble each other are actually connected.

6.3 Dhavalikar's Use of Later Literature to Analyze Old Figurines

In the excavation report from Inamgaon later Hinduism is used to identify the meaning of early figurines: "This may, therefore, suggest the concept of mount (*vāhana*) which becomes a distinguishing features of the divinities of the Hindu pantheon later in the historical period" (Dhavalikar et al. 1988: 579). If true, then the religious beliefs of these people were passed on continuously for centuries and spread all over India. However, it is also possible these beliefs came to an end and the concept of a mount in Historic Period Hinduism has a different origin.

6.4 The Problematic Nature of Identifying Artefacts with Literature

One other problem with the use of literature is that writing does not provide a complete account of a culture. For most of history, writing was limited to the upper classes. This means that, as far as literature is concerned, the vast majority of the population effectively does not exist. For this reason, it has been suggested that the archaeology and history of India has focused on the urban aristocracy and neglected peasants and tribal peoples (Boivin 2002: 198).

Hindu literature does not provide a key to identifying the artefacts of every culture in India. While the body of Hindu religious literature is immense - including the Rig Veda, Sama, Yajur and Atharva Vedas, Upaniṣads, epic poems and Purāṇas - it is not as useful as it would seem. It is only useful with the small segment of the population who wrote the literature, and even then any identification must be quite tentative. Using present-day Hinduism, or even the oldest records, is problematic because of a lack of similarity and the great distance in time. A book reflects the time in which it was written, not the time 3,000 years before.

The later literature (the epics and Purāṇas) is too far removed in time to be used in the Indus Valley Civilization (as mentioned in Wright 2010: 282). While the Rig Veda was written from 1700 to 1200 B.C. (Witzel 1999), it is still separated from the Mature Harappān period by centuries. In addition, the Vedas do not represent the religious beliefs of everyone in India at that time. Instead, they represent the beliefs of the Āryan Brahmins, who were one group among many and had arrived during the Late Harappān period. For example, some Late Harappān figurines are taken to be evidence of snake worship (Banerji 1993). This is an interesting idea, as snake worship is a major part of early Hindu mythology, but that appeal to literature is problematic. In conclusion, the use of later literature to identify artefacts is of very limited use and should generally be avoided.

Mythological literature cannot help in identifying the Indus Valley Civilization figurines, because the details of their mythology are not known. The Sar Dheri and Sahri Bahlol figurines also cannot be compared with anything in Hindu mythological literature. Since they are after the Late Harappān period, they are closer in time to Hindu mythological literature. This greatly mitigates the issue of time depth and continuity. However, a strong analogy cannot be made because there is nothing at all similar in any Indian myths. Instead, the meaning of the figurines must be found in the figurines themselves.

7.0 Religious Interpretations of the Figurines

What were the figurines of the thesis collection used for and what did they mean to their users? It is possible they had religious functions and meanings, such as offerings, shrine components, representations of deities, and their decorations being the deity's iconography. These religious interpretations normally identify female figurines as being part of a widespread Mother Goddess religion which was first proposed in the nineteenth century and continued throughout the twentieth century. As many excavation reports automatically identify human female figurines as Mother Goddesses, it is important to examine the concept before attempting to interpret the collection's figurines.

7.1 The Mother Goddess in Literature

The idea of the Mother Goddess goes back to 1861 when Johann Jacob Bachofen claimed that all primitive cultures were matriarchal. This was picked up by Edward Tylor, Lewis Morgan and James Frazer in their works on religion, family and myth respectively. By the time Marija Gimbutas picked up the ideas in the 1960s, the Mother Goddess concept had developed into a peaceful matriarchal, agricultural society that worshipped a pantheon of goddesses. A key feature of this phenomenon is its unquestioning acceptance of a set of assumptions. There is no explanation of reasoning, no justification of assumptions, and no critical questioning.

An early example of archaeologists using the Mother Goddess religion as a non-questioning interpretation comes from Crete during the early twentieth century when Sir Arthur Evans discovered the Minoan civilization. A stand with a fruit bowl found in Phaistos was said to represent goddesses and female worshippers. The figures were identified as religious based on representational art being religious and Mother Goddess worship was prevalent in prehistoric societies, so this class of object was viewed as religious regardless of context (Murphy 2008: 63). In addition, Evans believed that all representations of women were related to the Mother Goddess, an assumption that went unquestioned for decades. Other scholars compared these with frescoes made 400 years later and used that as evidence. This is dependent on the assumption that Minoan art was effectively frozen for 400 years, and researchers did not attempt to prove that.

There are several problems with the reasoning behind the Mother Goddess (Murphy 2008: 73-74). One is implicit reasoning. Unfounded assumptions are made, the context is ignored in favour of those assumptions, and circular arguments are used. The context means that the artefact is religious, and because the artefact is religious the context must be religious. In her own case study in Phaistos, Murphy noted that the context of the fruit bowl indicates it was probably related to production and not religion.

Another problem is that the words of the pioneers of archaeology are accepted without question. This is very common in the excavation reports in Chapter 3: figurines are identified as Mother Goddesses without any justification or examination. It is assumed that all representations of women are religious, prehistoric religion revolves around the Mother Goddess, and certain classes of object are religious regardless of context (Murphy 2008: 63). Researchers regard the words of their predecessors as true without re-examining the (perhaps flawed) reasoning and methods behind those words. Murphy's case study brings context into the picture and that new information leads to a very different conclusion. Even when the Mother Goddess was originally proposed, there was no good evidence that the earliest societies were matriarchal. As time went on, flawed reasoning was consistently used, and claims were made that stray too far from the evidence.

Murphy essentially states the issues that lead to the creation and perpetuation of the Mother Goddess idea. In doing this, it serves the purpose of critical review: to separate good ideas from at the very least unsubstantiated ideas that help archaeological theories progress..

7.2 The Mother Goddess in India

There are many examples of identifying figurines as the Mother Goddess in Indian archaeology literature, including Kala (1980), Sali (1986), Nath (1998), Joshi (1993), MacKay (1937, 1943), Sankalia and Deo (1955) and Gangoly (1959) who calls female figurines “Nude Goddesses”. The earliest Indian example states that as one goes back in time, different cultures around Eurasia converged on a Chalcolithic, matriarchal culture that worshipped the Mother Goddess and the productive powers of nature (Coomaraswamy 1999: 1).

Another Indian example is by Srivastava who wrote an entire book about the Mother Goddess in India (Srivastava 1979). In his view, early human society was matriarchal. This was a period of promiscuity where only the mother was known, not the father. In this time women held a far higher status than men. Patriarchy came later with the arrival of the Āryas (Srivastava 1979: 1-3). Srivastava emphasizes the superior role of the mother over the father, and frequently uses the term “mother-right” (Srivastava 1979: 3). He claims there is no evidence of Mother Goddess worship in India during the Stone Age, but female figurines in Europe make it clear she was worshipped there during that time (Srivastava 1979: 13-14).

In Indus Valley Civilization sites, figurines of the Mother Goddess and Brahmani Bull are abundant at Mohenjo Daro but absent at Lothal. “A solitary female figure with prominent breasts but devoid of jewellery found at Lothal does not appear to be the Mother Goddess. It is apparent that the Mother Goddess cult was not favoured at Lothal” (Kala 1980: 4). The Mother Goddess is also unknown in Kalibangan.

During the Mauryan period, Mother Goddess figurines abounded at Mathurā (Kala 1980: 5). Sir John Marshall worked on terracotta masks, figurines and narrative images from the Indus Valley Civilization, and put forth a number of influential interpretations. He believed the masks were attached to drapery and used in ceremonies while the human figurines were Mother Goddesses (Wright 2010: 277, 280). The idea of a pre-Āryan goddess religion that was later incorporated into Hinduism explains the transition from an all-male pantheon to the many goddesses of later Hinduism.

The Mother Goddess also makes frequent appearances in South Asian excavation reports. In MacKay’s (1937) report from Mohenjo Daro, one figurine is identified as a Mother Goddess. Some Mohenjo Daro figurines are also compared with figurines from the Naga Hills in Assam. At the time this report was written, that could have been a case of superficial resemblance or a connection for which no evidence currently exists. MacKay (1937: 151) said it was possibly the Mother Goddess, a comment that was in sharp contrast with the certainty of other researchers. Here is a milder, more sceptical example of the Mother Goddess idea: MacKay considered it a possibility where others considered every female representation to definitely be the Mother Goddess. MacKay also said a figurine was identified as an earth goddess by someone else, but he believed it to be purely utilitarian (1937: 152). This scepticism differentiates him from those of his time who immediately jumped to a religious conclusion.

In the report from Ahicchatrā the first group of figurines are mentioned: “The type appears indeed to preserve an earlier tradition of an undifferentiated Mother Goddess” (Agrawala 1947: 107). This book is a classic example of the Mother

Goddess idea. At Daimabad other figurines are identified as Mother Goddesses which are said to be very similar to those from



Figure 6: The figurines from Daimabad. From Sali 1986:478

Imangaon and Nevasa (Sali 1986: 484). At Pauni a few are identified as Mother Goddesses (Nath 1998). In the reports from Rajpat Mound (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 221; 2005: 204), Mother Goddess figurines of ageless type are mentioned. At Nagda it is not stated outright that they are mother goddesses, but the idea is mentioned (Banerjee 1986). One figurine is identified as a mother goddess at Bhagwanpura, but a question mark was added beside that comment (Joshi 1993). However, the figurines from Zhob (chronologically between Mehrgarh and the Indus Valley Civilization) are identified as Mother



Figure 7. From Banerjee 1986:226

Goddesses (Banerji 1993). In the report from Agiabir (Archaeological Survey of India 2004: 196), terracotta figurines are mentioned, with one being a nude female figurine. This is taken as evidence that the cult of the Mother Goddess was alive and well in the early Christian era. The report about the Chalcolithic site of Nasik in Maharashtra has a section on human figurines, with two described in detail. One is identified immediately as a Mother Goddess, and the other is identified simply as a female figurine (Sankalia & Deo 1955: 104). The former is said to be identical to figurines found at Kolhapur and Tripuri. The British Museum identifies one figurine (Figurine #170, Vol. 2, p. 91)¹⁸ as a Mother Goddess. The Victoria and Albert Museum identifies all Sar Dheri type figurines as Mother Goddesses in their exhibits.

7.3 Beyond the Mother Goddess Concept

A recent example of re-examining the Mother Goddess concept is an article on gender in Harappān artefacts (Atre 1998). Atre argues that archaeologists need to adopt a more sophisticated approach to identifying the sex of figurines, and notes that the Paśupati figurine is considered to be female by some scholars. “Archaeologists need not persist in the old criteria of ‘breasts’ and ‘erect penis’ any more than necessary and should adopt a more progressive and objective approach treating the available data more systematically” (Atre 1998: 161). She states that traits once taken as evidence of masculinity are not related to sex and traits that indicate femininity have been overlooked. For example, she claims a feature taken to be a penis is actually a strand of the figure’s clothing (Atre 1998: 162) and certain hairstyles indicate masculinity and femininity based on statues (Atre 1998: 164). The conclusion is that the Harappān worshipped a Mistress of Beasts who controlled all living things and all reproduction (Atre 1998: 165). However, the evidence does not support this last statement. Atre states the Indus Valley Civilization worshipped the Great Mother, and this religion included virgins and the domestic fire (Atre 1998: 161). No source is provided, as nothing is known about Harappān myths and ideology. To prove those were religious beliefs held by the Harappān, the material remains of such rituals and evidence (with that interpretation) would have to be discovered. Atre’s argument gets problematic when she provides a very exact description of Harappān religion. Conclusions must not go beyond what the evidence can support, and with such a lack of knowledge of Harappān ideology there is no evidence at all. Atre’s evidence does make it likely that female characters played an important part in Harappān mythology, but without new finds the details are speculation. However, this article represents a step forward. Methods are improved and old ideas are questioned, but there are still some large interpretive leaps.

However, the pervasive Mother Goddess concept is not universally accepted and some archaeologists do not automatically identify female figurines as such. For example, Jayaswal (1991) classified the female terracotta figurines as “Archaic Female Figurines”, noting they lacked the pronounced features needed to identify them as Mother Goddesses.

The excavation report from Rājghāt makes a very interesting statement regarding the Mother Goddess. “The group of so-called ‘Mother Goddess’ types can hardly be regarded as bearing a definite religious connotation, nevertheless, in want of any

¹⁸http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=223960&partId=1&searchText=1958,1017.2&page=1

other appropriate term, they are to be described for the present under the nomenclature ‘Mother Goddess’ to conform to the common practice hitherto followed by scholars” (Narain & Agrawala 1978: 39). Here are two scholars who do not believe in the Mother Goddess religion but use the term because everyone else does. While it is advantageous to be consistent in naming as it reduces confusion, identifying figurines as Mother Goddesses implies they are in fact so. If they are something else, then they should be named something more appropriate.

Other archaeologists have argued the figurines should not be identified as Mother Goddesses at all. Taking the data from the field books of the original excavators, Ardeleneau-Jansen (1992) studied the female figurines in Mohenjo Daro and claimed they were not as frequent or prominent as Mother Goddess proponents implied they were. She looked at the frequency of female figurines in each area relative to the amount of soil that was removed and found that the female figurines undeniably represented a small portion of all found figurines, with the majority discovered in the private rooms of a house. Very few figurines were found in public buildings. Her conclusion is that the figurines were not equally important to all people and were not involved in public activities, as suggested by the Mother Goddess idea (Ardeleneau-Jansen 1992: 12). This study uses the context of artefacts to determine use, the preferred approach of this thesis (see Chapter 5). Much important information can be gleaned from associated artefacts and the building and space they were found in, making this an indispensable part of the interpretation of function and meaning.

Clark (2007) argues that the Indus figurines do not represent the Mother Goddess as over half of the figurines cannot be identified as either male or female, a problem when trying to prove the presence of a deity who is very distinctly a certain gender. The Harappān figurines do not accord with the ethnographic evidence of goddess worship or accounts of the Mother Goddess religion. Clark believes that a Mother Goddess figurine in India should have elaborate ornamentation, an emphasis on reproduction and the lower torso, and lamps (a feature of the iconography of Lakṣmī) (2007: 231-234). Clark claims the Harappān figurines have none of those features and there is no other archaeological evidence for the Mother Goddess. Instead, there is a great diversity in the figurines which suggests “a rich ideology that appears to have been steeped in mythology, magic and/or ritual transformation – not an ideology focused solely on the Mother Goddess” (Clark 2007: 237).

Now, is Clark right? To answer that question, there are few points that need to be discussed. First, is she right to use ethnographic evidence as she did? No, as too much time has passed between the present day and the cultures being studied (about 4,000 years). The second point is, is Clark’s conclusion wrong? No. She is still right to argue against the Mother Goddess as there is no good evidence to support it. Ethnographic evidence is too far removed in time, so no one can rigorously argue for the Mother Goddess based on present goddess worship. Mythological evidence cannot be used because the oldest literature is from a different culture and after the decline of the Indus Valley Civilization. A study of the objects themselves does not provide any of the necessary information. Therefore, it is not possible to come to any well supported conclusion, and Clark is correct to argue against the Mother Goddess. “While the evidence here does not necessarily refute the Mother Goddess interpretation for at least some of the female figurines, it does challenge this pervasive notion for most of the female figurines from Harappa” (Clark 2007: 237). She therefore succeeded in what she set out to do.

This chapter has presented and argued against interpretations of the figurines as goddesses. Critiquing flawed ideas is productive, but presenting superior alternatives is more productive. Therefore an alternative interpretation that corrects old problems and moves the field of inquiry forward will be offered. In *Interpreting Ancient Figurines* (Lesure 2011), Lesure provides an alternative to the Mother Goddess by taking a different approach to the history of female figurines and goddesses in the ancient Near East. His historical narrative begins with what he calls the Seated Anthropomorph, a group of figurines from around the Near East whose traits revolve around femaleness and a seated posture (Lesure 2011: 201). After describing the manifestations of that complex across space and time in the Near Eastern Neolithic, he makes it the central subject of a prehistory of Near Eastern

goddesses (Lesure 2011: 201). Lesure ultimately argues that the goddesses are brief and local perturbations of a long-term structure that in itself is not divine (Lesure 2011: 204). He takes old goals with problematic theory and makes them useful again by providing more sophisticated approaches. His approach to grand history is very useful in that instead of simply arguing that the Mother Goddess idea is wrong, he provides a better alternative. In its present form it is quite vague and cautious. However, it has enough potential that it may, through further research, grow into something very useful. At present there is not enough information on South Asian figurines to attempt the same approach, but it does provide an excellent direction for further research.

It must be noted there is nothing wrong with interpreting a figurine as a goddess. Many ancient religions had goddesses, and India has many. The problem is that the Great Mother Goddess refers to a specific religion that never actually existed. Even if some figurines do represent a goddess worshipped in Harappā, Indian goddesses (and the Goddess of Hinduism) do not resemble the Mother Goddess of Gimbutas (Clark 2007: 236). While the Mother Goddess has been disproven, goddesses (and gods) were a very widespread feature of ancient cultures, and a religious interpretation will be considered. A figurine can be identified as a goddess if it is rigorously proven it represents a female deity that was worshipped in India during that time.

7.4 Popular Religion and Folk Deities

While Mother Goddess interpretations of figurines in India are not useful, it is valuable to discuss religious interpretations of figurines from a different perspective. In India today, terracotta figurines are very widespread and are commonly used in worship. Villagers in the Gangetic Plain offer figurines to the local god in the fields to ensure a good harvest and terracotta figurines are commonly offered to deities in outdoor shrines (Huyler 1996: 68, 74). These are usually animal figurines, but they can also include human figurines. Every Hindu house has its own sacred area which can contain terracotta images (or other materials) of the family's deity. In Orissa, horse and elephant figurines are given to their goddess when people pray to her (Huyler 1996: 78, 87).

One example of a popular religion is Yakśas. Yakśas, as represented by terracotta figurines, have a very ancient history and are still worshipped to this day (Misra 1981: 124-140, 162). The Yakśas were gods of the common people, and it is said Asoka incorporated their worship into Buddhism to help it spread (Misra 1981: 145). Is it possible to determine whether these figurines represented deities? In Hindu art, deities may have certain objects associated with them. It is possible that the elaborate ornamentation (such as the lotus pods and rosettes discussed later in this thesis) is the symbol of a deity.

This example of popular religion would be very useful to this thesis. Its biggest strength is the evidence of the current worship of Yaksas going back to the time of the Buddha in the fifth century B.C. The problem is it is unknown how many details of the modern practice go back that far. It is possible the folk deities being worshipped then and now are both called Yakśas, but the beliefs and practices around them have changed. Certainly the lower castes of India have had their own folk deities for millennia, but it must not be assumed that the details of that worship are constant. Therefore, in interpreting the figurines, religion should always be considered, but the conclusions must not exceed the evidence.

7.5 The Folk Goddess Hypothesis for the Sahri Bahlol and Sar Dheri Figurines

In India today, every city, town and village has its own local deity (Huyler 1996: 67). In addition to the famous deities who are worshipped all over India, there are local deities who are worshipped by a single village. The hypothesis described in this section states that the Sar Dheri type figurines (Vol. 2, Figurines 19-98) represent a goddess who was worshipped by the common people of Gandhāra, but not the elites. "Moreover, no image of an orthodox god, Brahmanical or Jain, is known to us before Kuṣāṇ times" (Codrington 1931: 12). However, he said nothing of unorthodox deities, such as the folk deities described just now.

Knowledge of the Indian past is dominated by literary evidence. This is problematic for a variety of reasons. During the Early Historic (later first millennium B.C.) and Vedic periods (second to early first millennium B.C.), the literary evidence consisted of the Vedas, Upaniṣads, Brāhmaṇas, epic poems, and books on grammar and philosophy. All of these were written by one group of people: male Vedic brāhmaṇs. The beliefs and views of other groups of people were not written down. This has resulted in mystery deities, such as the goddess with five weapons in her hair. This iconography does not match any goddess in any myth known today. The lotus pods and rosettes could be the iconography of an unknown deity. This would be like Śiva's animals and yogic posture (as discussed in Section 6.2), and Lakṣmī's lotus flowers, coins and elephants. It should be noted that the Sar Dheri type can be divided into three subtypes: those that have lotus pods and rosettes, those that have lotus pods but no rosettes, and those that have neither. It is possible all represent a deity, or only the figurines with rosettes represent a deity, or there is no deity at all.

There are a few factors that work in favour of the idea that the figurines are representations of deities. The elaborate ornamentation could be the iconography of a deity which would explain why so many figurines have the same symbols in the same configuration. Around the world, and especially in India today, figurines are used in worship. It is also well attested that in India today there are many local deities worshipped by the common people of a particular area. This was also true in the past; a well-known example are Yakṣas. Deities can also be forgotten, which means the list of known deities today cannot be assumed to be a complete list of every deity every worshipped in South Asia.

There are also a few problems with the idea of the figurines representing deities. Elaborate ornamentation does not necessarily mean the figurine represents a deity, as many deities are quite unadorned. There is no known deity with this iconography, and ancient folk deities are not entirely forgotten (such as the Naigameśī and Yakṣas).

This idea is about the iconography specifically. Their identification as deities, and no further claim, is shaky enough. There is no known deity resembling the Sar Dheri figurines, and the Sahri Bahlol figurines are consistently identified as Naigameśīs without justification (Agrawala 1947; Narain & Agrawala 1978). This is a situation similar to Mother Goddess figurines. Any attempt at symbolic analysis, which depends on a firm knowledge of iconography, would be pure speculation.

7.6 Shrine Component Hypothesis for the Sahri Bahlol and Sar Dheri Figurines

A widespread practice in India is keeping a household shrine to the family deity, or the village deity, or one of the major pan-Indian deities. In a Hindu shrine, there are many ways of representing the deity. Many shrines have flowers in clothing and terracotta pots that represent the deity, and shrines in Bengal and Tamil Nadu have terracotta figurines that represent the deity of the shrine (Huyler 1996: 76). This section explores the idea the thesis figurines represent an ancient deity.

In the case of the Sar Dheri figurines, it is not known who the deity would have been. However, with the Sahri Bahlol figurines, Naigameśī is identified as a folk deity like the Yakṣas in the Rājghāt excavation report (Narain & Agrawala 1978), and the figurines of the Sahri Bahlol type are identical to the Naigameśīs. This means they had a religious identity, as they represented a deity. Naigameśī figurines have been found from Taxila to Chandraketugarh, which means the thesis figurines could represent the westernmost extension of a widespread religion in ancient India.

A number of factors strengthen this hypothesis. In the case of the Sahri Bahlol figurines, they have been identified in excavation reports (Narain & Agrawala 1978; Agrawala 1947) as deities. For the Sar Dheri figurines, the consistent decorations of lotus pods and rosettes could be the iconography of an unknown deity. Also, the practice of household shrines is well attested to in ethnographic studies (Huyler 1993 provides several examples). Figurines have been found in domestic contexts in a number of sites (explained in detail in Chapter 3).

However, there are several problems with this idea. The hypothesis rests on the assumption that the figurines are in fact deities. The Sar Dheri figurines are not confirmed deities, and the Sahri Bahlol figurines have been identified as deities but no source is cited. As well, these figurines were not found in a definite shrine context in an excavation, which casts doubt on that interpretation.

7.7 The Offering Hypothesis for the Sahri Bahlol and Sar Dheri Figurines

In this hypothesis, the figurines were offered at temples and shrines of Naigameśī, while the Sar Dheri figurines were offered at temples of the unknown folk goddess. Today ethnographic examples of human and animal figurine offerings can be found in every Indian district (Huyler 1996: 77).

Those factors that lend credence to this hypothesis are similar to the ones in section 7.6 above. The Sahri Bahlol figurines have been identified in excavation reports as deities, while the Sar Dheri figurines have consistent decorations (the lotus pods and rosettes) that could be the iconography of an unknown deity. The practice of offering figurines to deities is very common in ethnographic studies (see Huyler 1993).

But this idea has several problems just as the shrine component hypothesis has. The offering hypothesis assumes the figurines are deities, but the Sar Dheri figurines are not confirmed as such and the Sahri Bahlol figurines, while identified as deities, have no source cited (Narain & Agrawala 1978; Agrawala 1947). The trail ends with those two excavation reports. These figurines were also not found in a context that indicates they were being offered to a deity. An example of such context would be in a temple in front of an image of a deity.

This offering hypothesis is an analysis of use. The identification of the figurines as offerings, and no further claims, is shaky enough without detailed contextual information. Any attempt at social analysis, which depends on firm knowledge of use and social organization, would be pure speculation.

7.8 Where Does the Thesis Collection Fit In?

The idea of the Mother Goddess is widespread and entrenched, and therefore must be acknowledged. While it is easy to discuss what researchers have claimed, it is much harder to talk about why they made those claims without any explanations of reasoning. This research is very cautious to avoid over-interpretation, and it is not the goal of this thesis to speculate why archaeologists have made the claims they did. However, the following four points about the Mother Goddess religion can be said with confidence: Mother Goddess worship evolved out of nineteenth century ideas of primitive matriarchy; it started in a time when anthropology was dominated by evolution and diffusionism (specifically the cultural evolution of Edward Tylor and Lewis Morgan); it was always characterized by a lack of scrutiny of reasoning, and in many Indian excavation reports, figurines are identified as Mother Goddesses without a single word of explanation; and the concept of the Mother Goddess is very widespread, appearing in Europe, the Near East and South Asia.

The female figurines in the thesis collection therefore will not be identified as Mother Goddesses. There has never been any good evidence in favour of the Mother Goddess, and the arguments for it do not stand up under any scrutiny. Therefore efforts should be made to find other identifications of female figurines, using the most rigorous possible comparison and artifact analyses.

8.0 Final Topics in Function and Meaning:

Fragmentation of Figurines and Scientific Analysis of Figurines

There are various methods to study artifacts. Some have already been discussed in detail, but there are more that are applicable to figurine studies. This chapter will discuss a few more methods before the conclusion. The first method is the fragmentation of the figurines. Most of the figurines are broken to varying degrees, and the breaks will be discussed as a possible source of information on function and meaning. The second topic discusses scientific methods that study the physical properties of the figurines.

8.1 The Chaine Operatoire Applied to Terracotta Figurines

In archaeology, objects are never found in mint condition. Many artefacts are broken or rusted. In a purely typological analysis of terracotta figurines, an archaeologist would make a note of a break and assume the artefact was always broken. However, much can be learned by thinking about why figurines are broken. The concept of the Chaine Operatoire is a highly successful theory originally used to describe the production of lithic artefacts. It explains that production is a series of stages, each which can be identified by signature waste products.

A case study at the site of Dolnoslav, Bulgaria, focusses on studying the modification of the raw bodies as a chaine operatoire (Gaydarska et al. 2007: 174). The first step consists of creating three contrasts: matt/gloss, colour contrasts, and burnt/unburnt contrasts. The next stage consists of breaking the figurine deliberately. The figurines have one to five or even more breaks, and gender and sidedness are all reflected in the fragmentation activities. Secondary burning and decoration after fragmentation appear frequently.

This is a very interesting contribution to European prehistory. But is it relevant to India? To answer that question, we need to determine whether the deliberate breaking of figurines was common. It is clear that many figurines are incomplete (as seen in the artefact catalogue, Volume 2 of this thesis), but the nature of the breaks varies. It would certainly be worthwhile to closely examine the breaks and look for deliberate fragmentation.

8.2 Application of Fragmentation to South Asian Figurines

For the Balkan example to be applied to Indian figurines, research needs to be done on fragmentation of Indian figurines. In 2009 Jennifer Tremblay did exactly that as a master's student at Durham University. She performed an experiment where she made figurines and broke them in four situations: a strength test in the lab, children playing, accidental breakage and intentional breakage (Tremblay 2009: 33-35). The breaks were divided into two types: Series 1 breaks were at the extremities (the weak points) and Series 2 breaks were at the torso (a strong point). Tremblay concluded that, based on the fragmentation experiments and ethnographic evidence, the figurines were votives and were ritually broken (Tremblay 2009: 83).

Table 8: Frequency of each type of break, by typological group				
Figurine type	No. of Series 1 breaks	No. of Series 2 breaks	No. with both breaks	Notes
Indus Valley Civilization	4	0	0	
Sahri Bahlol	10	8	5	Two have no torsos (head only).
Sar Dheri figurines with rosettes				
Sar Dheri figurines with lotus pods	22	25	16	
Sar Dheri figurines without rosettes or lotus pods	15	13	11	
Sar Dheri bodies	7	8	0	
Hellenistic figurines	3	5	2	
Possible Hellenistic figurines	6	4	1	
Other figurines	18	9	7	

A few observations should be noted. First, many figurines have both types of breaks. Second, the head-only figurines were counted as Series 2 because their break was at an extremity. Third, there is no correlation between typological groups and break types. The typological groups are based on physical characteristics, and breakage reflects use and conditions after the figurine is thrown away. Therefore there is no correlation between use/burial conditions and observable physical characteristics.

Conducting an experiment like this, the most rigorous type of research, allows an archaeologist to observe what happens under what circumstances, and learn things that cannot be discovered simply by looking at the artefact. Tremblay's experiment is potentially quite useful to this research as most of the thesis collection is broken.

8.3 Fragmentation Caused by Decay in the Ground

In addition to the pre-burial fragmentation studied above, it is also possible that fragmentation occurred after deposition. Objects that are left alone for long periods, above or below ground, will decay. This is caused by insects, light, weather, dust, corrosion and water. Buried objects suffer from corrosion, staining, insects and reactions with the surrounding organic matter (Caple 2006: 192-193). There is no positive evidence of decay in the figurines of the thesis collection, but the absence of paint could potentially be a result of decay in the ground. Some figurines (such as #5 and #12) show variations in colour across the surface that may be due to the decay of paint or may be due to the decay of an oxidized surface.

An experiment on the taphonomy of pottery was conducted. A pot was left on the surface for 11 months. At the end of that period the archaeologists returned to the pot and examined it (Millson 2011: 122). After less than a year, it had been reduced to a few sherds. It is therefore clear that fragmentation can easily be the result of decay after deposition. Tremblay's experiment, however, also makes it clear that fragmentation can be a result of use. This is only the beginning of the research into fragmentation. It needs to be better understood how figurines decay naturally, and how to distinguish natural breaks from intentional breaks. This will open up a useful new way of studying the function of figurines.

Objects can also be repaired by replacing a broken part or mending a hole, and reused objects are often regilded or repainted (Caple 2006: 189-190). There is no sign of repair or reuse in this thesis collection, therefore a study on repair is not very useful here.

8.4 Laboratory Methods

Laboratory analyses from physics and chemistry can also be used to learn more about artefacts. Such work is beyond the scope of this master's thesis, but to ensure a comprehensive knowledge of figurine studies it will be acknowledged. One important topic for labwork is the provenance of materials, that is, where the material comes from. Artefacts can be grouped based on the origin of the materials (Caple 2006: 145). Sourcing can be done with mineral content, chemical composition, trace elements and isotope ratios. This information is not available for the thesis collection due to the lack of context and lack of laboratory work (such as trace element analysis). Deposits can consist of the material used to make the object, materials added after production but during the life of the object, products of the decay of the primary and secondary materials, deposits added during normal use, dirt accumulated during use, and dirt accumulated after burial (Caple 2006: 178). Gas chromatography and mass spectroscopy can be used to identify the composition of deposited residues. In this collection there are no known surface deposits, thus this analysis is not very useful.

UV fluorescence can reveal information about painted and varnished objects, including repairs and restorations, and pigments, bindings and resins used. Infrared radiation can be used to spot pigments that are opaque to IR. Some of the figurines are painted, and some may have lost paint they originally had. Therefore these techniques could be useful. X-radiography can reveal the form of an object or the extent of decoration under corrosion, structural weaknesses, methods of construction and earlier images hidden under newer images (Caple 2006: 76). This could reveal clues to manufacturing techniques and decay. Thin sections are used to identify the mineral content of the artefact. Determining the type of clay used could help with sourcing and typology. The many layers of paint and primer are viewed in cross-section to determine the history of the painted object and the method of painting. This could be done by studying a break in a fragmented figurine with a hand lens. X-ray fluorescence is used to identify the elemental composition of an object (Caple 2006: 155). This may be the most useful technique. Because it is non-destructive, there is a much greater chance that the British Museum would give permission to use it. Elemental composition is useful to sourcing and typology. Mass spectroscopy is used to identify the elemental composition of an object (Caple 2006: 159), and gas chromatography is used for complex molecules (Caple 2006: 194). This is not very useful to this thesis because the figurines have very few complex molecules worth studying. Scanning electron microscopy uses electrons to create extremely close images. This is also not very useful, as it involves cutting a sample off so a hand lens could reveal all necessary information.

8.5 The Materials of the Figurines

Materials have many physical properties, such as hardness, malleability and texture (Caple 2006: 96). Natural materials have variation: one piece is not the same as another. Some materials change with time or heat, and this can be exploited. Materials can have their properties altered by mixing, such as ceramics with mixed clays or metal alloys.

Cost, supply and demand are major factors in the selection of materials. Scarcity can be caused by limited availability or exhaustion, limited technical expertise to harvest and use the material, cost of processing and transport, politics, warfare, hoarding, the trade situation, weather and other disruptions to the supply of goods (Caple 2006: 102). Shortages can result in greater use of smaller and poor quality pieces, as well as experimentation and innovation that result in the use of new materials, or importation of alternatives from elsewhere. The cost of a material can be reduced by using cheaper substitutes, such as gold plating instead of solid gold, or by using similar looking but cheaper and poorer quality alternatives (Caple 2006: 105). Manufacturing can be made cheaper through craft specialization, assembly lines, moulds and templates, sharing of people and resources, and standardized repetitive methods (Caple 2006: 107). Materials can also be reused and recycled. Cultural factors include beauty, demonstrating the skill of the maker, following established traditions, and demonstrating great wealth, while materials can have symbolic or religious meaning (Caple 2006: 101).

In the thesis collection every object is made of the same material from start to finish: terracotta. Therefore, any study of technical properties would be about small variations from one figurine to another and differences in composition which would be useful in regards to sourcing of material. Therefore a study of change in material is not applicable here. At most, the composition of the clay and the exact firing temperature (within a 200 degree range) varied. As all the figurines in this collection are terracotta, there are no new materials to study.

9.0 Conclusion

In the Asian collections of the British Museum, there lies a collection of 170 South Asian terracotta human figurines. The items were acquired from various amateur collectors over the mid-twentieth century and then put in storage. In that time no one ever took a close look at them. The purpose of this thesis is to correct that by performing a close study of the figurines. What can be learned from that study?

First, this is not a coherent collection. There is no common thread uniting all the figurines. Instead, the collection needs to be separated, and some figurines need to be assigned to other collections. The collection represents a vast span of time and there are no links between the groups within the collection. The Sahri Bahlol group should become one collection. The Sar Dheri group should become another collection, and grouped with identical figurines in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Indus Valley Civilization figurines should be group with other Indus Valley Civilization artefacts and figurines. The remaining figurines should be group with similar South Asian figurines in other collections in the British Museum.

Second, a few things can be said about the relationships between these figurines and other South Asian figurines. The Sar Dheri figurines are a unique style localized in the area around Chārsadda, and are not found in any other area. The Sahri Bahlol figurines are identical to figurines found across northern South Asia at Ahicchatrā and Rājghāt (Agrawala 1947 and Narain & Agrawala 1978 respectively). The Indus Valley Civilization figurines are identical to those figurines found at Mohenjo Daro (Marshall 1973; MacKay 1937), Chanhu Daro (MacKay 1943) and Harappā (Vats 1940). No figurines have been found that are identical to the Hellenistic figurines and are in contexts with strong Greek cultural influence. This means that the Hellenistic label is the most likely to be changed in light of sufficient information on the figurines.

There are still many unanswered questions. First, the figurines do not have absolute dates. When they can be dated, it is only in relation to other finds. This can be rectified easily by using thermoluminescence dating on the figurines and carbon dating on associated organic finds.

Second, it is still not known with certainty what the figurines were used for or the role they played in their cultures' social organization. This will not be so simple to rectify, as several excavation reports provide context information on the figurines. This will therefore require a considerable amount of research.

Third, it is not known how the figurines in this collection fit into the evolution of South Asian figurines in general. It is not known what styles they evolved from or into, and if they are an evolution of previous styles or spontaneous creations. This would require a comprehensive comparative study of all known South Asian figurines.

Fourth, the meaning of the figurines is not known. It is difficult to extract ideology from the objects themselves. A lot of information is needed from written records and associated finds, in addition to the objects themselves, to determine meaning with certainty.

It was said earlier that an ideal typology is based on many factors, including function, role in social organization, cultural origin, the place in the evolution of figurines, iconography and meaning. Due to the lack of firm information regarding any of those factors, the current categories still stand. However, it is entirely possible they will be modified or replaced if new information is found.

This means the original purpose of the thesis (to survey a never-before-studied museum collection) has been accomplished. It is now known the figurines in the collection are from a variety of findspots in northwestern South Asia, and they span thousands of years. It is also known at a basic level how they fit into South Asian figurines generally. The Sar Dheri type figurines are unique to a small area, and the Sahri Bahlol type figurines are found across northern South Asia. There is also much that remains unknown, and many opportunities for further research are available to study these figurines.

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South Asian Figurines in the British Museum: Literature Review and Analysis

A study of the human terracotta figurines of Col. D. H. Gordon, Col. D. R. Martin and others located in the collections of the British Museum.

Volume 2 of 2

The appendices of the thesis, including maps, timeline and catalogue of figurines.

Written by Matthew Gregory Wiecek

For the Master of Arts by Research in Archaeology

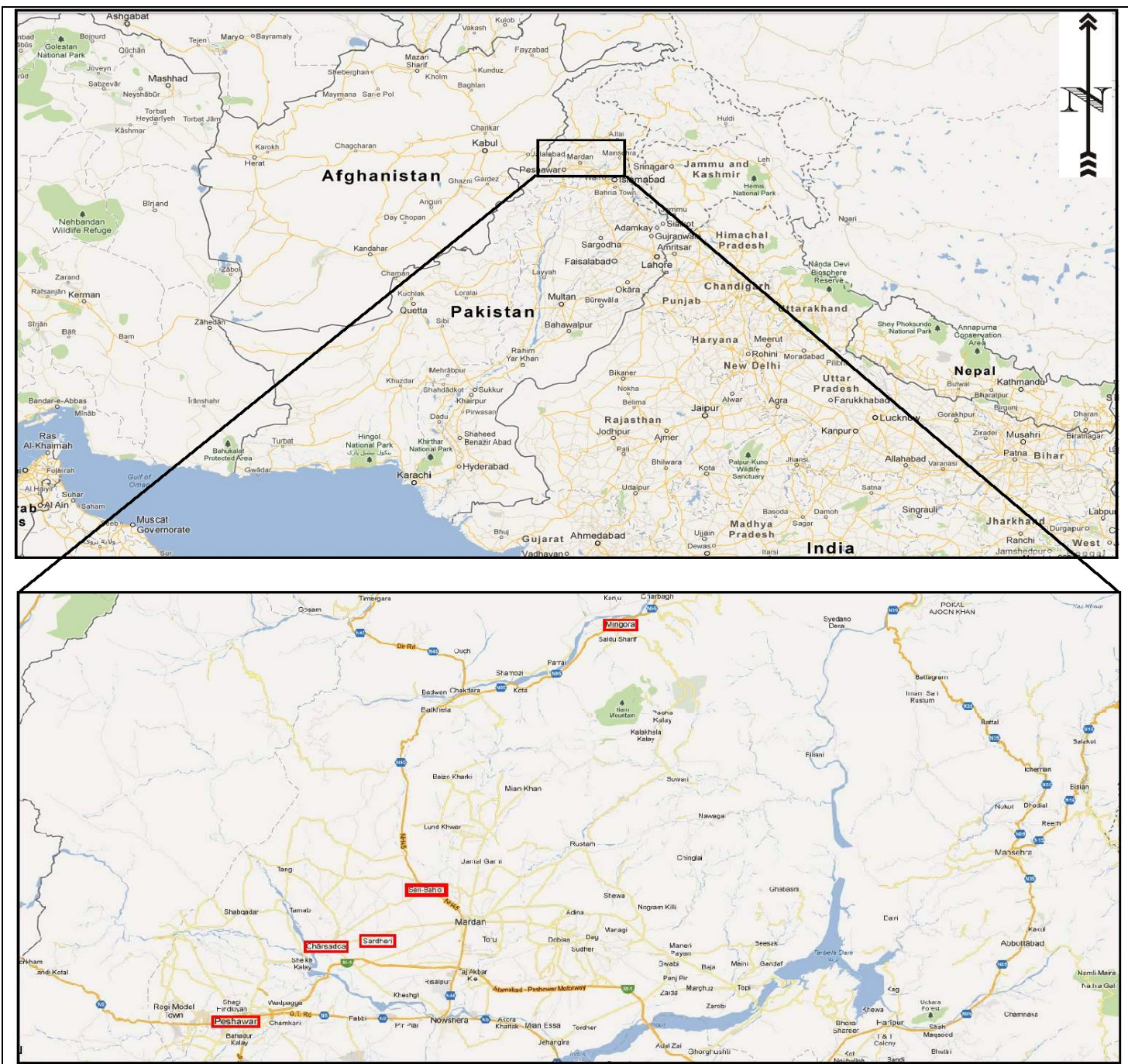
In the Department of Archaeology at Durham University

Submitted 19 September 2012

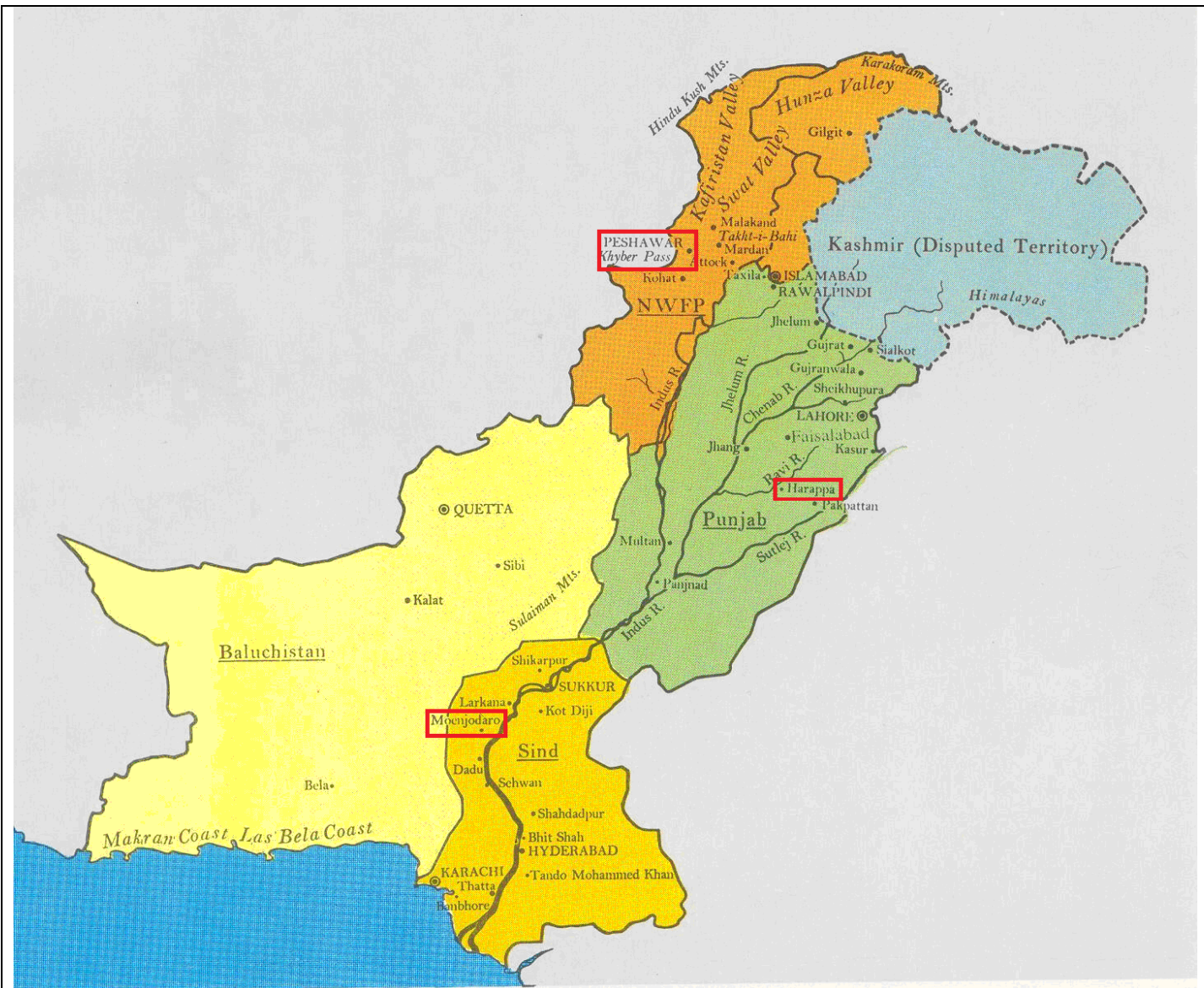
Supervised by

Derek Kennet and Robin Skeates

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Map 1: Two maps showing the area the figurines come from. The upper map shows the region of the world the thesis is set in, and the lower map is a closer view of the major findspots mentioned in the catalogue in this volume. The black lines from the corners of the lower map to the little black box in the upper map indicate where in the upper map the lower map is located. The cities highlighted with red boxes are those findspots that appear on the map. Image created using maps from Google Maps. Spelling inconsistencies are due to variations in transliteration.



Map 2: A map of Pakistan's provinces. NWFP is Northwest Frontier Province. The bulk of the figurines come from the area around Peshawar in the NWFP. Important archaeological sites are highlighted with red boxes Map source: <http://www.nttfc.org/maps/PakMap.jpg>



Map 3: Map of the provinces of India. Map source: http://www.turkey-visit.com/map/India/india_provinces_map.gif

Timeline of the History of South Asia

- 7000 BC: The first occupation at Mehrgarh begins.
- Mehrgarh is a Neolithic site located in Baluchistan, west of the Indus river valley.
- This site provides the oldest evidence of agriculture and human figurines in South Asia.
- Mehrgarh continued to be occupied until 2500 BC.

- Another early site with figurines is Sarai Khola.
- Sarai Khola is a 4th millennium BC site near Peshawar.

- 3000 BC: The Early Harappān period begins.
- This marks the increase in urbanization that led to the Mature Harappān period.
- There were migrations from highland sites such as Mehrgarh into the Indus River valley.

- 2600 BC: The Mature Harappān period begins. This is the height of the Indus Valley Civilization. They had several large urban centers, including Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro and Dholavira.

- 1900 BC: The Late Harappān period begins. In this period the major urban centers of the previous period are abandoned or severely reduced in size, and new towns appear to the east and southeast.

- The Gandhara Graves culture produced figurines in the Swat Valley of northern Pakistan at the same time as the Late Harappān period.

- 600 BC: Urbanization begins again in the Ganges Valley. Eventually, northern India is divided among 16 kingdoms.
- 324 BC: The Maurya dynasty unites those 16 kingdoms and rules northern and central India.
- 187 BC: The Śunga dynasty succeeds the Mauryas.
- First millenium BC: Greek people known as the Indo-Greeks rule a kingdom in northwestern India.
- 1st-2nd century AD: The Kuṣāṇas rule a kingdom that includes northern India and central Asia.
- 350 AD: The Gupta dynasty rules much of northern India.

Table 8: Periods of history described in the thesis		
Mehrgarh	7000 to 2500 BC	Includes the Zhob and Kulli cultures
Early Harappan	3500 to 2600 BC	
Mature Harappan	2600 to 1900 BC	Includes some figurines in the collection
Late Harappan	1900 to 1200 BC	
Late Vedic	1200 to 600 BC	
Early Historic	600 to 320 BC	Includes some figurines in the collection
Maurya	320 to 187 BC	Includes many figurines in the collection
Śunga	187 to 75 BC	Includes many figurines in the collection
Śakas	2 nd century BC to 4 th century AD	
Parthians	1 st century AD	
Indo-Greeks	2 nd century BC to 1 st century AD	Includes some figurines in the collection
Kuṣāṇas	1 st -2 nd century AD	Includes many figurines in the collection
Guptas	AD 350 onward	Includes some figurines in the collection

Figurine #1, British Museum #1967.0221.9.1 (Indus Valley Civilization type)			
Collector: Martin	Donor: Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Harappā	Date: 3 rd millennium BC
Height: 6.9 cm	Firing conditions: Very light brown indicates good oxidation. Red areas may be a slip that has largely decayed.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand-modelled due to lack of symmetry with appliqué eyes and breasts.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Fragment of possible IVC headdress	Facial features: Pellet eyes Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Arms + Chest -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None certain. Soil is known to decay paint.
Similar figurines: Headdress is similar to Figurine #1, this collection Vats #11, #20	Coatings: Small amounts of a red substance are present	Deposits: None	



Picture source: British Museum.



Picture source: Taken by author

Comments: There is something protruding from the head. It looks like a fragment of the headdresses found on many Indus Valley Civilization figurines.

Figurine #2, British Museum #1967.0221.9.2 (Indus Valley Civilization type)			
Collector: Martin	Donor: Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Harappā	Date: 3 rd millennium BC
Height: 7.0 cm	Firing conditions: Very light brown indicates good oxidation. Red areas may be a slip that has largely decayed.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand-modelled due to lack of symmetry.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations:	Facial features: Pellet eyes Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Upper chest +Right arm +Part of left arm -Part of left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None certain. Soil is known to decay paint.
Similar figurines: Vats #11, #20	Coatings: None present	Deposits: None	







Picture source: British Museum.







Picture source: Taken by author



Comments: The head is quite unusual. It is not clear what the appliqué on the face is – it is much bigger than a normal nose. It is also not clear why there is a cleave in the head.



Figurine #3, British Museum #1967.0221.9.3 (Indus Valley Civilization type)			
Collector: Martin	Donor: Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Harappā	Date: 3 rd millennium BC
Height: 6.0 cm	Firing conditions: Very light brown indicates good oxidation. Red areas may be a slip that has largely decayed.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand-modelled due to lack of symmetry.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations:	Facial features: Groove mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm +Part of left arm -Part of left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None certain. Soil is known to decay paint.
Similar figurines: Vats #11, #20	Coatings: None present	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Figurine #4, British Museum #1958.0512.2 (Indus Valley Civilization type)			
Collector: Unknown	Donor: P. A. J. Hall	Findspot: Harappā	Date: 2500-2000 BC
Height: 10.1 cm	Firing conditions: Brown core indicates good oxidation.	Colour: Darker brown may indicate carbon smudging.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand-modelled due to lack of symmetry. Applique breasts.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Parallel
Decorations: IVC Headdress	Facial features: None	Completion: +Head +Chest +Part of left arm +Part of right arm -Part of left arm -Part of right arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None certain. Soil is known to decay paint.
Similar figurines: Vats 32-48 Mackay (Lower Levels) 1, 21, 22 (Upper levels) 4 Kala 18, 19 (both from Mohenjo-Daro 2500-1700 BC) Clark 2007:229 and 231	Coatings: None present	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: This has a clear nose, but the face has an appliqué pellet like the previous figurine. In addition, on the (viewer's) left of the head there is a string of clay applied where the ear would be.			



Figurine #5, British Museum #1880.3144.1 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 9.0 cm	Firing conditions: Core and part of the surface are both a very light brown. This indicates good oxidation. Part of the surface is red, which may be a slip.	Colour: Red (lower chest) Beige (Upper chest and head) Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.	Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly hand-modelled.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: This type of arm is also found at Dhavalikar 1988:585. Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: Different colours may be coatings	Deposits: Different coatings may be deposits	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #6, British Museum #1880.3144.2 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 8.6 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates good oxidation and dark grey indicates reduction. Since both are present, it is likely that the figurine was fired in an oxidizing atmosphere and then smudged.	Colour: Mostly brown. The dark grey may be a result of carbon. No iron development visible. May be smudged.	Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly hand-modelled.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Groove mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #7, British Museum #1880.3144.3 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 8.7 cm	Firing conditions: The dark brown suggests incomplete to good oxidation, and the red might be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly hand-modelled.	Colour: Primarily brown, some red Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Parallel
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth Ears	Completion: +Head +Chest +Upper arms -Lower arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: The red may indicate coatings	Deposits: The red may indicate deposits	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #8, British Museum #1880.3144.4 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 10.0 cm	Firing conditions: Light brown indicates good oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Parallel
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint, or altered the colour of the surface in some areas.
Similar figurines: Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: None certain.	Deposits: None certain.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: Arms are far from symmetrical. Definitely hand modelled. The features are not as finely shaped as the other figurines.			

Figurine #9, British Museum #1880.3144.5 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 8.5 cm	Firing conditions: Light brown indicates good oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly hand-modelled.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Parallel
Facial features: Nose Groove mouth Ears	Decorations: Headdress	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: Different colours may indicate coatings	Deposits: Different colours may indicate deposits	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #10, British Museum #1880.3144.6 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 9.5 cm	Firing conditions: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.	Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly hand-modelled	Colour: Light brown indicates good oxidation.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Parallel Fragment of right arm is consistent with complete parallel arms
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth Ears	Completion: +Head +Chest +Abdomen +Upper right arm -Lower right arm -Left arm -Legs	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: Different colours may indicate coatings	Deposits: Different colours may indicate deposits	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #11, British Museum #1880.3144.7 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 5.5cm	Firing conditions: Light brown indicates good oxidation. Darker spots may be smudging.	Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly hand-modelled.	Colour: Dark green. Some possible carbon visible in dark spots.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Unknown object on left arm (bracelet?) Headdress	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth Ears	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: This type of arm is also found at Inamgaon. Dhavalikar 1988:585 Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Comments: It has the same shape and features as the other Sahri Bahlol figurines except for the bracelets on the arm.



Figurine #12, British Museum #1880.3145.1 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 6.5 cm	Firing conditions: Very light brown indicates good oxidation. Red areas may be a slip that has largely decayed.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Left arm -Right arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: This type of arm is also found at Inamgaon. Dhavalikar 1988:585 Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: Different colours may indicate coatings	Deposits: Different colours may indicate deposits	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Comments: The stump of the right arm is slightly offset from the left arm. Otherwise it is a smoothly modelled figurine.



Figurine #13, British Museum #1880.3145.2 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 8.0 cm	Firing conditions: Very light brown indicates good oxidation. Red areas may be a slip that has largely decayed.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines: None	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments: The only indication that this might be a Sahri Bahlol figurine is the ears. It lacks the facial features of the type.			



Figurine #14, British Museum #1880.3146.1 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC or 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 6 cm	Firing conditions: Very light brown indicates good oxidation. Red areas may be a slip that has largely decayed.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth Ears	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: Different colours may indicate coatings	Deposits: Different colours may indicate deposits	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #15, British Museum #1880.3146.2 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot:	Date: 4 th -7 th century AD
Height: 5.8 cm	Firing conditions: Very light brown indicates good oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth Ears	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			


Figurine #16, British Museum #1951.1210.52 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot:	Date: 5 th century AD
Height: 7.0 cm	Firing conditions: It is generally dark, which indicates reduction. Some areas are light brown, which indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled.	Colour: Dark grey indicates carbon, smudging or reduction.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth Ears	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: This type of arm is also found at Inamgaon. Dhavalikar 1988:585 Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #17, British Museum #1951.1210.14 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol	Date: 1 st century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 12.1 cm	Firing conditions: Very light brown indicates good oxidation. Red areas may be a slip that has largely decayed.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: Separated	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Headdress Fingernails and toenails	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth Ears	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm +Abdomen +Legs -Left arm	Decay: The light brown colour may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: This type of arm is also found at Inamgaon. Dhavalikar 1988:585 Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments: This is one of a few figurines that appears to have the fingers rendered.			


Figurine #18, British Museum #1958.1111.26 (Sahri Bahlol type)			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Donated by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol	Date: 1 st century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 12.7 cm	Firing conditions: Very light brown indicates good oxidation. Red areas may be a slip that has largely decayed.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled.	Colour: Light brown and red may be from iron at high temperatures.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: Separated	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Abdomen +Legs + Right arm -Left arm	Decay: Different colours may be from decay. The soil could have removed part of a slip or paint.
Similar figurines: This type of arm is also found at Inamgaon. Dhavalikar 1988:585 Narain 1978:Plate XVIII.	Coatings: Different colours may indicate coatings	Deposits: Different colours may indicate deposits	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #19, British Museum #1951.1210.31 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Malka Dheri	Date: 1 st century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 5.71 cm	Firing conditions: The brown indicates partial oxidation. The lightest areas may indicate decay.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Little evidence of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: Indeterminate	Sex markers: Breasts/pectorals	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband Headdress	Facial features: Nose Circle slit mouth Circle slit eyes Ears	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comment: There is a large unknown protrusion from the (viewer's) right side of the head.			



Figurine #20, British Museum #1967.0221.8.53 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province or Punjab	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7.0 cm	Firing conditions: Very light brown indicates partial oxidation. The red may be paint or a slup.	Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly moulded.	Colour: No evidence of carbon. Light colour may be iron development.
Sex: Indeterminate	Sex markers: Breasts/pectorals	Leg division:	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lines of dots	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Circle slit mouth Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Left arm -Right arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Black paint across chest.	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #21, British Museum #1880.3127.1 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by the Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.0 cm	Firing conditions: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly moulded.	Colour: No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Neckband	Facial features: Nose Circle slit eyes	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments: The British Museum. entry includes the following reference in connection with this figurine: GORDON, M.E. and D.H. "A survey of ancient Gandhara", Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute, n.s. I, 1945, pp. 9-25.			

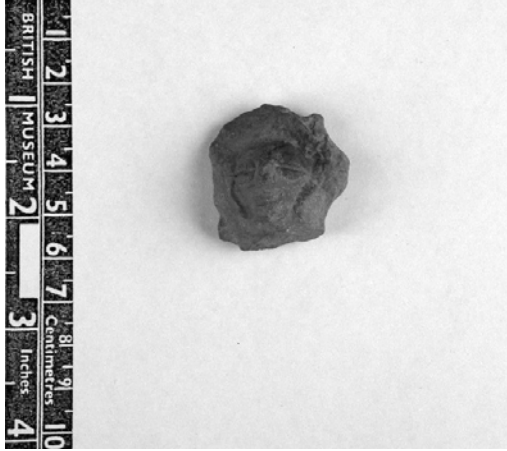
Figurine #22, British Museum #1880.3127.6 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 5.5 cm	Firing conditions: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Some darker areas may be from carbon or smudging..
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations:	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #23, British Museum #1880.3127.7 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar, associated with Sar Dheri	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 5.5 cm	Firing conditions: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Mostly red. Some darker areas may be from carbon or smudging..
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>			
Comments:			


Figurine #24, British Museum #1880.3127.8 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7.1 cm	Firing conditions: Light colour indicates partial oxidation. Red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (3) Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Circle slit mouth Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Left arm -Right arm -Chest -Legs	Decay: The beige could be the result of decay
Similar figurines:	Coatings: The red may be a coating	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			


Figurine #25, British Museum #1880.3127.10 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4.03 cm	Firing conditions: Light colour indicates partial oxidation. Red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red. No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lines of dots (2)	Facial features: Nose Circle slit eyes	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #26, British Museum #1880.3127.11 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4.9 cm	Firing conditions: Light colour indicates partial oxidation. Red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red. No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: Indeterminate	Sex markers: Breasts/Pectorals	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (2)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			

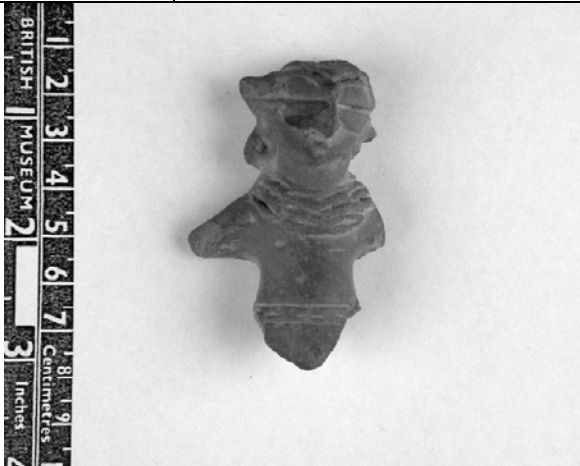

Figurine #27, British Museum #1880.3127.15 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 3.5 cm	Firing conditions: Light colour indicates partial oxidation. Red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red. No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>			
Comments: There is a simple string of clay around the head not seen on other figurines.			



Figurine #28, British Museum #1880.3127.18 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7 cm	Firing conditions: Light colour indicates partial oxidation. Red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red. No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>			
Comments:			


Figurine #29, British Museum #1880.3128.1 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6 cm	Firing conditions: Light colour indicates partial oxidation. Red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red. No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular Stumps indicate angle
Decorations: Headdress Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Part of right arm -Part of right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>			
Comments:			



Figurine #30, British Museum #1880.3128.9 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 5 cm	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.		Colour: Red
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments: The head shape for this figurine is different from the other Sar Dheri figurines. It's also missing the neck bands found on other Sar Dheri figurines.			

Figurine #31, British Museum #1880.3128.18 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot:	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7.5 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Neckbands (3) Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: This figurine has a projected head like the Sahri Bahlol figurines, but is otherwise a typical Sar Dheri figurine.			



Figurine #32, British Museum #1880.3128.20 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.5 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly moulded.	Colour: Red
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: None	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #33, British Museum #1880.3128.21 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4.5 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features:	Completion: +Head +Chest +Left arm +Abdomen -Right arm -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #34, British Museum #1880.3128.17 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4.5 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			



Figurine #35, British Museum #1880.3128.35 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 3.5 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #36, British Museum #1880.3128.16 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7 cm	Colour: Red		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Neckband (1) Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: There appears to be a block of clay on the head.			



Figurine #37, British Museum #1958.1111.8 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Donated by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 1 st century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 5.08 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Neckband (1) Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Figurine #38, British Museum #1880.3127.2 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: 1 st century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 5.71 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour:
Sex: Indeterminate	Sex markers: Breasts/pectorals	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: Nose Circle slit eyes	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments: It has the circle slit eyes, so it fits the definition of a Sar Dheri type, but it is remarkably unadorned. Normally Sar Dheri figurines are more elaborate than this.			



Figurine #39, British Museum #1967.0221.8.28 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province or Punjab	Date: 1 st century BC to 1 st century AD
Height: 9.5 cm	Firing conditions: The brown indicates partial oxidation. The lightest areas may indicate decay. The red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red. Little evidence of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: Male	Sex markers: Pectorals Penis	Leg division: Separated	Arms: Perpendicular Stumps indicate a 90 degree angle to the torso
Decorations: Neckband	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Circle slit mouth Nose Ears	Completion: +Head +Chest +Part of arms +Abdomen +Legs -Part of arms	Decay: None certain
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Beige lines suggest that the red might a coating	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: One of the few male figurines.			



Figurine #40, British Museum #1967.0221.8.2			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Funded by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 10 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour:
Sex: Male	Sex markers: Pectorals Penis	Leg division: Separate	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1) Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: Complete except for a small piece of the right leg	Decay: Streaks of grey may be from decay of the surface
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: One the few male figurines, and one of two figurines with a protrusion at that side of the head.			



<u>Figurine #41, British Museum #1951.1210.22</u> (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Charsadda	Date: 3 rd century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 9.5 cm		Manufacturing/assembly:	Colour: Red
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Abdomen +Legs +Right arm -Left arm	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			



Figurine #42, British Museum #1880.3468 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 1 st century BC
Height: 8.3 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular Indicated by stumps
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen +Legs -Head -Arms	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: Unusually, this has vertical incisions on the feet.			



Figurine #43, British Museum #1939.0119.3 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Sir Harold Arthur Deane	Donor: Lt.-Col. H. H. R. Deane	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 9.1 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms +Abdomen +Upper legs -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #44, British Museum #1936.0613.280 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Prof. Ernst Herzfeld	Donor: Purchased from Prof. Ernst Herzfeld	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 15.8 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: Complete	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments: The nose is unusually large.			



Figurine #45, British Museum #1972.0408.1 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Mrs. P. Birch	Donor: Acquired from Mrs. P. Birch	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 8 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Crown Lotus Pods Neckbands (2)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Streaks of grey may be from decay of the surface
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: This is the only figurine with that three-pointed crown.			

Figurine #46, British Museum #1880.3122 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 11.5 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckbands (3)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: There are incisions on the arms and legs.			

Figurine #47, British Museum #1880.3123 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 11.8 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips Breasts	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms +Abdomen +Upper legs -Lower legs	Decay: Streaks of grey may be from decay of the surface
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: There is a diagonal band across the chest.			

Figurine #48, British Museum #1880.3127.3 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4.5 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	Repair/reuse: None
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			

Figurine #49, British Museum #1880.3127.13 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			

Figurine #50, British Museum #1880.3128.4 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 3.5 cm	Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			













Figurine #51, British Museum #1880.3128.8 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 5.5 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Indeterminate	Sex markers: Breasts/pectorals	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus pods Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Streaks of grey may be from decay of the surface
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments: The lotus pod headdress is different. Instead of being a collection of small nearly circular lotus pods, it is two large oblong lotus pods.			

Figure #52, British Museum #1880.3128.10 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7.5 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Left arm +Upper right arm -Lower right arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #53, British Museum #1880.3128.11 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7.5 cm	Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			

Figurine #54, British Museum #1880.3128.13 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7 cm	Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Streaks of grey may be from decay of the surface
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			

Figurine #55, British Museum #1880.3128.19 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4.5 cm	Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division:	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Streaks of grey may be from decay of the surface
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			

Figurine #56, British Museum #1880.3128.22 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 5.5 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			

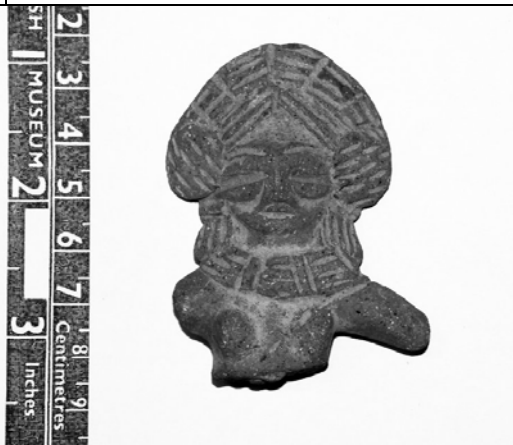










Figurine #57, British Museum #1880.3128.23 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height:	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Left arm -Right arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			

Figure #58, British Museum #1880.3128.27 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #59, British Museum #1880.3128.28 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.5 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features:	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #60, British Museum #1880.3128.33 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6 cm	Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red and beige. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division:	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Rosette Headdress Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments: Unlike most figurines, the lotus pod headdress forms a square, and does not have the collection of small lotus pods.			


Figurine #61, British Museum #1880.3128.34 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular Indicated by stump
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #62, British Museum #1958.1111.7 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Donated by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol	Date: 1 st century BC to 2 nd century AD
Height: 4.8 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: See comments	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>			
Comments: The eyes are very unsymmetrical. Not the result of moulding, or at least not a successful attempt.			



Figurine #63, British Museum #1951.1210.5 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 3 rd century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 8.3 cm	Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red and beige. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division:	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Upper arms -Lower arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: There is something unusual on either side of the neck, something long smooth and narrow. Might be part of the ornamentation.			

Figurine #64, British Museum #1951.1210.29 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Spina Warai	Date: 3 rd century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 15.9 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Light red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips Breasts	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: Complete	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			


Figurine #65, British Museum #1979.0516.1 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: H. G. Beard	Donor: Donated by H. G. Beard	Findspot: Taxila	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 9.7 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Buff. Black may be from carbon smudging.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: Complete	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: The hips are much broader than the other figurines.			

Figurine #66, British Museum #1880.3127.12			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.8 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: Indeterminate	Sex markers: Breasts/pectorals	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Lotus pod Neckband (2)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		<p>Comments:</p>	



Figurine #67, British Museum #1880.3160			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Mathura	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.1 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red and brown. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division:	Arms: Parallel
Decorations: Neckband (2) Lotus pod	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Left arm -Right arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Some paint is visible.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: Unlike most Sar Dheri figurines, the arm has a 90 degree angle.			

Figurine #68, British Museum #1967.0221.8.5			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 4 th -3 rd century BC
Height: 5.1 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose Groove mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: The lotus pods here are different from the rest – they have dots instead of lines.			



Figurine #69, British Museum #1880.3128.2

Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 5.5 cm	Firing conditions: Brown indicates partial oxidation. Red may be from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Brown. No evidence of carbon.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: None	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus pods	Facial features: Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Light brown may be original surface, or the surface was worn away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: The lotus pods here are different from the rest – they have dots instead of lines.			

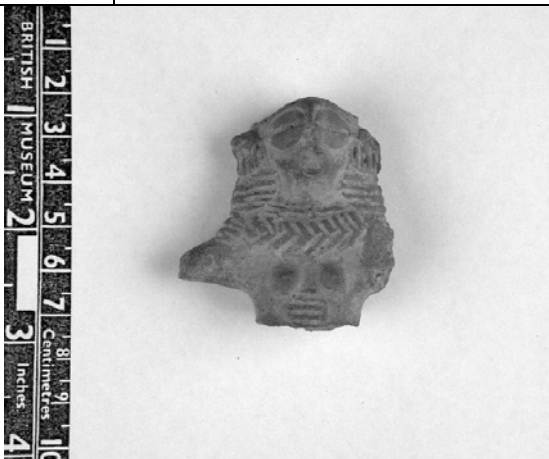

Figurine #70, British Museum #1880.3127.14 (Sar Dheri type)



Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4.9 cm	Firing conditions: Light colour indicates partial oxidation. Red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red with some beige. No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular Indicated by stumps
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus pod headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colours may indicate decay
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Different colours may indicate coatings	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #71, British Museum #1880.3127.16 (Sar Dheri type)


Figurine #71. British Museum #1880.3127.16 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 3.3 cm	Light colour indicates partial oxidation. Red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red. No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: None
Decorations: Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #72, British Museum #1880.3128.39 (Sar Dheri type)

Figure #72, British Museum #1880.3128.39 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 5.5 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus Pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #73, British Museum #1880.3128.12 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 3.5 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly moulded.	Colour: Red
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Comments:	

Figurine #74, British Museum #1880.3128.29 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.5 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Lotus Pods Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: This has what might be circle slit eyes on the headdress. unlike all other Sar Dheri figurines.			



Figurine #75, British Museum #1958.1111.15 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Donated by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 1 st century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 4.3 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			

Figurine #76, British Museum #1880.3128.5			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 3.5 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly moulded.	Colour:
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay:
Similar figurines:	Coatings:	Deposits:	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			


Figurine #77, British Museum #1880.3127.17 (Sar Dheri type)

<u>Figurine #77, British Museum #1880.3127.17</u> (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4.5 cm	Light colour indicates partial oxidation. Red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red with black paint. No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: Indeterminate	Sex markers: Breasts/pectorals	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus pods Paint across neck and chest	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Paint	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments: This figurine has crossed diagonal lines across the chest.			

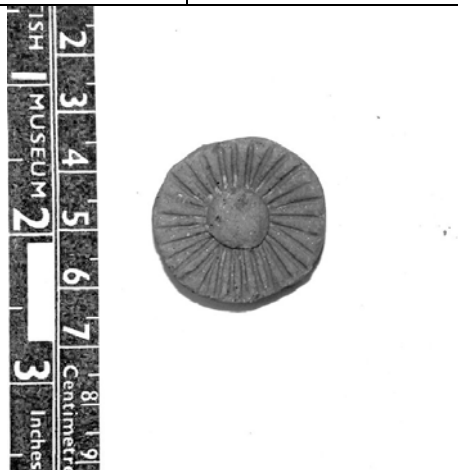

Figurine #78, British Museum #1880.3127.20 (Sar Dheri type)



Figurine #78, British Museum #1880.3127.20 (Sar Dheri type)			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar (associated with Sar Dheri)	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6 cm	Light colour indicates partial oxidation. Red may be a slip.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red. No indication of carbon. Light colour may be from iron development.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Lotus Pods Paint across neck and chest	Facial features: None	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Paint across chest.	Deposits: None.	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: The head is a unique shape for a Sar Dheri figurine. The spaces where the eyes would be are much smoother than a break would normally be.			



Figurine #79, British Museum #1880.3127.21

Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.
Sex: Indeterminate	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Possible rosettes Lotus pods Neckband (1) Medallion on chest	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>			
Comments:			

Figurine #80, British Museum #1880.1111

Figurine #80, British Museum #1880.1111			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: From Mrs. Gordon	Findspot: Bala Hissar	Date: 3 rd century BC to 2 nd century AD
Height: 1.9 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Rosette	Facial features: No head	Completion: No body, just a rosette	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
		 Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: This is one of a few figurines that's not recognizably human. It is merely a decoration from a figurine of the Sar Dheri type.			



Figurine #81, British Museum #1949.0718.21			
Collector: Col. A. H. Burn	Donor: Miss M. T. Burn	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 10.2 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly:	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckbands (2) Lotus pods Rosette (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Upper left arm -Lower left arm -Right arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #82, British Museum #1949.0718.23			
Collector: Col. A. H. Burn	Donor: Miss M. T. Burn	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.6 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus pods Rosettes (2)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #83, British Museum #1939.0119.4

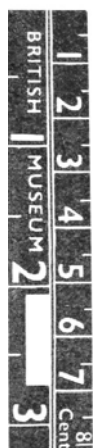
Collector: Sir Harold Arthur Deane	Donor: Lt.-Col. H. H. R. Deane	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7.6 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckbands (2) Lotus pods Rosette (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments: There is only one breast, and no break where the other one would be.			

Figurine #84, British Museum #1880.3120

Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 9.2 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Neckband (2) Lotus pods Rosettes (3)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: This is the only figurine with a star shaped rosette.			

Figurine #85, British Museum #1880.3121

Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7.1 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus pods Rosettes (2)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth Pellet above eyes	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	



Picture source: British Museum.



Picture source: Taken by author

Comments: This figurine has a large lotus pod where a rosette would normally be.

Figurine #86, British Museum #1880.3127.9

Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.5 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Rosette (1) Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	







Picture source: British Museum.







Picture source: Taken by author



Comments: This figurine has a large lotus pod where a rosette would normally be.

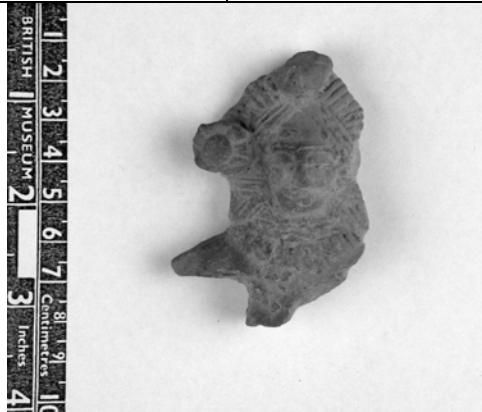

Figurine #87, British Museum #1880.3127.19			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7.5 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Neckband (2) Lotus pods Rosette (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #88, British Museum #1880.3128.3			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 3.5 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Rosettes (2) Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #89, British Museum #1880.3128.7			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Rosettes (2) Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Arms +Chest -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #90, British Museum #1880.3128.15			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Brown. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Rosettes (3) Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			


Figurine #91, British Museum #1880.3128.25			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Rosettes (3) Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest –Arms -Abdomen - Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			

Figurine #92, British Museum #1880.3128.26			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly:	Colour: Brown. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Rosettes (2, maybe 3) Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen - Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #93, British Museum #1880.3128.32			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Brown. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division:	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Rosettes (1) Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Pellet over eyes Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #94, British Museum #1951.1210.2			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 3 rd century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 13.3 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Light red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Headdress Neckband (1) Rosettes (2) Lotus pods	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: Complete	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: Taken by author		Comments:	



Figurine #95, British Museum #1880.3128.36			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Brown. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Rosette (1) Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Right arm -Left arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			



Figurine #96, British Museum #1880.3128.31			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.5 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Rosettes (3) Lotus pods Neckband (1)	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Arms +Chest -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #97, British Museum #1939.0119.2



Collector: Sir Harold Arthur Deane	Donor: Lt.-Col. H. H. R. Deane	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 16.3 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Rosettes Lotus pods Lines of dots (3) Paint across chest	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Abdomen +Legs +Right arm +Upper left arm -Lower left arm	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Paint across chest, hips and rosettes.	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: This figurine has paint on the rosettes.			



Figurine #98, British Museum #1951.1210.9



Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 8.3 cm	Light colour indicates oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly:	Colour: Red. No trace of carbon. Light colour may be from iron minerals.
Sex: Indeterminate	Sex markers: Breasts/pectorals	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Rosettes (2) Lotus pods Neckband (1) Paint across chest	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Circle slit mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: The lines of light brown may be were the surface eroded away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #99, British Museum #1880.1103			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Mrs. Gordon	Findspot: Bala Hissar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7.3 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour source: Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: Joined	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Upper legs -Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
Repair/reuse: None			
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #100, British Museum #1880.1104			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Mrs. Gordon	Findspot: Bala Hissar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 8.4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Red with brown core Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Abdomen +Upper legs -Head -Chest -Arms -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #101, British Museum #1880.1105			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Mrs. Gordon	Findspot: Bala Hissar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 8.6 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Red with brown core Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: 3 rd -2 nd century BC	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Upper legs -Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #102, British Museum #1880.1106			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Mrs. Gordon	Findspot: Bala Hissar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7.9 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.	Colour: Light and dark brown
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Upper legs -Head -Chest -Arms - Abdomen -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #103, British Museum #1880.1107			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Mrs. Gordon	Findspot: Bala Hissar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Red from oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: Joined	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Upper legs +Abdomen -Head -Chest -Arms -Lower legs	
Similar figurines:	Decay: None Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #104, British Museum #1880.1109			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Mrs. Gordon	Findspot: Bala Hissar	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Red from oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: Joined	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Upper legs -Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #105, British Museum #1880.3347			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 4.9 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Light and dark brown from oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Abdomen +Upper legs -Head -Chest -Arms -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			



Figurine #106, British Museum #1880.3348			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 11.4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Red with black areas from oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips Breasts	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckbands (2) Lotus pod	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Right arm +Abdomen +Legs -Head -Left arm	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Figurine #107, British Museum #1880.3349			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 9.8 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Red from oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1)	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Right arm +Abdomen +Upper legs -Head -Left arm -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #108, British Museum #1880.3350			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 8.8 cm	Firing atmosphere: The red suggests oxidizing, and the grey core suggests incomplete oxidation or reduction.	Colour: Red with brown core	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Neckband (1)	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen -Head -Arms -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #109, British Museum #1880.3351			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 9.2 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing.	Colour source: The dark grey areas are from carbon smudging. The brown areas could be from oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Arms +Abdomen +Upper legs -Head -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #110, British Museum #1880.3356			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 9.4 cm	Firing atmosphere: The red suggests oxidizing, and the grey core suggests incomplete oxidation or reduction.	Colour: Red with brown lines from oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Abdomen +Legs -Head -Chest -Arms	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #111, British Museum #1880.3357			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 8.8 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Red with brown areas from oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen +Legs -Head -Arms	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			

Figurine #112, British Museum #1880.3355			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 11 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Red from oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen +Legs -Head -Arms	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #113, British Museum #1880.3354			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: First millenium BC
Height: 6.9 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Red from oxidized iron with lines of grey	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded.
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Neckband (1) Lotus pods	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen +Upper legs -Head -Arms -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #114, British Museum #1880.3158			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Mingora	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 7.6 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates an oxidized atmosphere.	Colour sources: Red may be from development of iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Parallel
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms +Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colour may be from the original surface wearing away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #115, British Museum #1951.1210.53



Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Taxila	Date: 1 st century AD
Height: 6.8 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates an oxidized atmosphere.	Colour sources: Red may be from development of iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: Hair Naturalistic eyes Nose Naturalistic mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest +Upper arms -Lower arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			



Figurine #116, British Museum #1967.0221.8.36

Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st century BC to 1 st century AD
Height: 4.5 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates an oxidized atmosphere.	Colour source: Red may be from development of iron minerals	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Laurel wreath	Facial features: Naturalistic eyes Nose Naturalistic mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colour may be from the original surface wearing away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: In addition to the laurel wreaths, there appears to be something else on the head.			



Figurine #117, British Museum #1951.1210.8			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 5.7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates an oxidized atmosphere.	Colour sources: Red may be from development of iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Parallel
Decorations: None	Facial features: Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Upper arms -Lower arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colour may be from the original surface wearing away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #118, British Museum #1951.1210.10			
Collector:	Donor:	Findspot:	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 5.7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates an oxidized atmosphere.	Colour sources: Red may be from development of iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Naturalistic eyes Nose Naturalistic mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms - Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colour may be from the original surface wearing away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			



Figurine #119, British Museum #1951.1210.30			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Utmanzai	Date: 1 st century AD
Height: 5.4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Dark colour may be from a reducing atmosphere or carbon smudging. The lighter areas suggest an oxidized core.	Source of colour: Darkness may be from carbon or reduced iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: Naturalistic eyes Nose Naturalistic mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: Different colour may be from the original surface wearing away.
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #120, British Museum #1880.3156.1			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 6 cm	Firing atmosphere: Red indicates oxidizing, grey indicates incomplete oxidation/reduction.	Colour source: Red with brown areas Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Professor Mario Rolfo of Tor Vergata University identified this as Apollo based on the disc behind the head. If that is true, then this is certainly an Indo-Greek figurine.			



Figurine #121, British Museum #1880.3156.2



Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 6 cm	Firing atmosphere: Dark grey indicates a reducing atmosphere or smudging.	Colour source: Reduced iron or carbon smudging.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p align="center">Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p align="center">Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Figurine #122, British Museum #1880.3156.3



Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 4.5 cm	Firing atmosphere: The red indicates an oxidizing atmosphere. The grey indicates a reducing atmosphere.	Colour source: Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p align="center">Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p align="center">Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Figurine #123, British Museum #1880.3157.1			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 11.4 cm	Firing atmosphere: The red indicates an oxidizing atmosphere. The grey indicates a reducing atmosphere.	Colour source: Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen + Legs +Arms -Head	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Figurine #124, British Museum #1880.3157.2			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot:	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 7.8 cm	Firing atmosphere: The red indicates an oxidizing atmosphere. The grey indicates a reducing atmosphere.	Colour source: Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen +Legs -Head -Arms	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Figurine #125, British Museum #1967.0221.8.55			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st century BC to 1 st century AD
Height: 9 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour source: Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: Eyes Nose Mouth	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Figurine #126, British Museum #1958.1111.1			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Donated by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 1 st century BC to 2 nd century AD
Height: 10.9 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour source: Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Upper arms +Chest +Abdomen +Legs -Head -Lower arms	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	



Figurine #127, British Museum #1967.0221.8.32			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Funded by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st century BC to 1 st century AD
Height: 4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour source: Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Nose	Completion: Head only	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	


Figurine #128, British Museum #1967.0221.8.23			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Funded by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st century BC to 1 st century AD
Height: 5.7 cm	Firing atmosphere: The red indicates an oxidizing atmosphere. The grey indicates a reducing atmosphere.	Colour source: Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Separated	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Arms +Abdomen +Legs -Head	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	


Figurine #129, British Museum #1880.3416			
Collector: Not listed.	Donor: Not listed.	Findspot: Akra	Date: 3 rd century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 10.1 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Brown from oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts Hips	Leg division: Under clothing	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #130, British Museum #1880.3417			
Collector:	Donor:	Findspot: Akra	Date: 4 th -2 nd century BC
Height: 7.5 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour source: Oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips Breasts	Leg division: Under clothing	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
Repair/reuse: None			
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #131, British Museum #1951.1210.23			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Charsadda	Date: 3 rd century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 8.9 cm	Firing atmosphere: Oxidizing	Colour: Red from oxidized iron	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts Hips	Leg division: Separate	Arms: Parallel
Decorations: None	Facial features: Groove mouth Nose Pellet eyes	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #132, British Museum #1880.1515			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Acquired from Mrs. Gordon	Findspot: Akhkari Dheri	Date: 3 rd century BC to 2 nd century AD
Height: 5.7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Dark colour indicates a reducing atmosphere.	Colour source: Reduced iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Dots	Facial features: Possible eye	Completion: Possible animal head only	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: This figurine is not humanoid.			



Figurine #133, British Museum #1949.0718.10			
Collector: Col. A. H. Burn	Donor: Mss M. T. Burn	Findspot: Akra	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 3.81 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: Naturalistic eyes Nose Zigzag mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines: Lal 1993:111	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p> <p>Comments: This head bears some resemblance to typical Kuṣāṇ period figurines.</p>			


Figurine #134, British Museum #1880.3129.4			
Collector: Not listed	Donor: Not listed	Findspot: Akra	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: Eyes Nose Mouth	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p> <p>Comments:</p>			


Figurine #135, British Museum #1880.3148			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Akra	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 5.7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Upper right arm -Lower right arm -Left arm -Abdomen - Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			



Figurine #136, British Museum #1958.1111.6			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Donated by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Bala Hissar	Date: 1 st century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 10.2 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded	
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: None	Arms: None
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: Appears to be just a cloak	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments: This just appears to be a Greek cloak.			



Figurine #137, British Museum #1979.0627.40			
Collector: Unknown	Donor: Unknown	Findspot: Unknown	Date: Unknown
Height: 4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: +Chest +Lower head -Upper head -Arms - Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #138, British Museum #1951.1210.42			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Mathura	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 3.5 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Necklace	Facial features: Naturalistic eyes Nose Naturalistic mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #139, British Museum #1880.3149			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Pakistan	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 5.9 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: Pellet eyes Nose Groove mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen - Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			



Figurine #140, British Museum #1880.3353			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 9.6 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Possible lotus pod	Facial features: Eyes Nose	Completion: Appears to be mostly complete except for a piece at the bottom	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments: Unlike most of this collection, this is definitely an animal figurine.			


Figurine #139, British Museum #1880.3157.5			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 3.2 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest -Head -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #140, British Museum #1880.3128.14			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Lines of dots (2)	Facial features: Nose Possible eyes	Completion: +Head -Chest –Arms –Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: This might be the only figurine with those eyes.			



Figurine #141, British Museum #1880.3128.24			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 7.3 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
Repair/reuse: None			
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #142, British Museum #1880.3128.30			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: Circle slit eyes	Completion: +Head -Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments: The circle slit eyes are faintly visible near the bottom. Therefore, the bulk of this figurine might be a headdress.			



Figurine #143, British Museum #1951.1210.6			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Purchased from Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 3 rd century BC to 3 rd century AD
Height: 6.4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose Groove mouth	Completion: +Head +Chest -Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Comments:			

Figurine #144, British Museum #1880.3152			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 6.1 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: Pellet eyes	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
Repair/reuse: None			
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			

Figurine #145, British Museum #1962.0212.22

Figurine #145, British Museum #1962.0212.22			
Collector: Not listed.	Donor: Donated by Mrs. C. C. Chambers	Findspot: Tharwai	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 13.5 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: Separated	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: All body parts except for right foot	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #146, British Museum #1967.0221.8.11

Figurine #146, British Museum #1967.0221.8.11			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 6.9 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: Separated	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines: Some resemblance to Navdatoli pg 384 #12	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



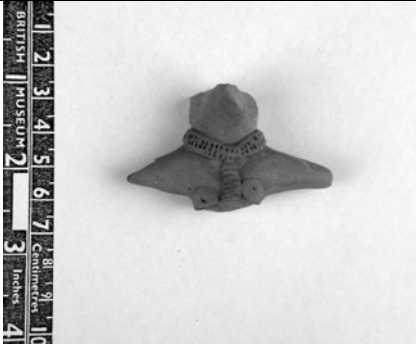








Figurine #147, British Museum #1967.0221.8.13			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Funded by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 4 th -3 rd century BC
Height: 7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: Lines across chest	Facial features: Nose	Completion: +Head +Chest +Arms +Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figure #148, British Museum #1880.3127.5			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 3.7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.		Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1)	Facial features: Nose	Completion: +Lower head +Chest +Arms -Upper head - Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #149, British Museum #1880.3135.4 (Indus Valley Civilization type)			
Collector: Col. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 9.3 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates oxidation.	Colour source: Light colour is probably from oxidized iron minerals.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: Separated	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: None	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines: Narain 1978:Plate XVIII. Kakarehta (Sharma 1992 Plate XXXII). MacKay 1943 Plate LIV #1 and 2. Navdatoli pg 384 #12	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: There is something protruding from the side of the head. A headdress?			



Figurine #150, British Museum #1880.3142			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot:	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 4.3 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron minerals. Maybe some smudging.	Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines: Some resemblance to Navdatoli pg 384	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #151, British Museum #1880.3352			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 8.4 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Possibly hand modelled	Colour:
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Neckband (1)	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen +Upper Legs +Upper right arm -Head -Lower right arm -Left arm -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			

Figurine #152, British Museum #1880.3157.3			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Arms +Abdomen -Head -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #152, British Museum #1880.3157.4			
Collector: Col. D. R .Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 5.5 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: +Chest +Arms -Head -Abdomen - Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #153, British Museum #1880.3157.6			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st -2 nd century AD
Height: 4 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Parallel
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Right arm -Head -Left arm - Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #154, British Museum #1880.3343			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 10 th -1 st century BC
Height: 9.1 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Arms +Abdomen -Head -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #155, British Museum #1880.3344			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 10 th -1 st century BC
Height: 7.3 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Left arm +Abdomen -Head -Right arm -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #156, British Museum #1880.3345



Figurine #156, British Museum #1880.3345			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 10 th -1 st century BC
Height: 8.8 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: The grey suggests incomplete oxidation or reduction, and the red suggests oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen -Head -Arms -Legs	Decay: The light grey may be where the red surface has worn away.
Coatings: The red might be a slip or paint on top of the grey core.	Maker's marks: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #157, British Museum #1967.0221.8.23



Figurine #157, British Museum #1967.0221.8.23			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Funded by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Northwest Frontier Province, Punjab	Date: 1 st century BC to 1 st century AD
Height: 5.7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: The grey suggests incomplete oxidation or reduction, and the red suggests oxidation.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Arms +Abdomen -Head -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: The red might be a slip or paint on top of the grey core.	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: The human body in the figurine appears to be on a surface behind it. Possible brick/plaque?			



Figurine #158, British Museum #1880.3126			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 8.8 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Separated	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: Circle slit eyes Nose	Completion: Complete except for part of the left leg	Decay: None
Similar figurines: Some resemblance to Navdatoli pg 384	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #159, British Museum #1958.1111.3			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Donated by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 1 st century BC to 2 nd century AD
Height: 8.9 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Leaf pattern Lines of dots Rosettes Incisions on arms	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Arms +Abdomen +Upper legs -Head -Lower legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: The red may be a slip or paint over a grey core.	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			



Figurine #160, British Museum #1880.3151			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 4.6 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Arms +Abdomen -Head -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Red may be a slip or paint over a grey core.	Deposits: None	
		 <p>Picture source: Taken by author</p>	
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			



Figurine #161, British Museum #1967.0221.10.2			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Funded by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Zhob River	Date: Ca. 3000 BC
Height: 3.5 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen -Head -Arms -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
		 Picture source: Taken by author	
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			



Figurine #162, British Museum #1958.1111.2			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Donated by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Taxila	Date: 1 st century BC to 2 nd century AD
Height: 8.9 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Separated	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Headdress	Facial features: Circle slit eyes	Completion: +Head +Chest +Abdomen +Legs -Arms	Decay: None
Similar figurines: Resembles Navdatoli pg 384	Coatings: Red may be a slip or paint over a grey core.	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: The headdress is similar to some lotus pod headdresses in the Sar Dheri type. The hips however are much broader.			



Figurine #163, British Museum #1880.3127.4			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 3.7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light colour indicates partial oxidation.	Colour source: Oxidized iron.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division: No legs	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Upper left arm -Head -Lower left arm -Right arm -Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Red may be a slip or paint over a grey core.	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #164, British Museum #1958.1111.5			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Donated by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 1 st century BC to 2 nd century AD
Height: 6.1 cm	Firing atmosphere: Grey indicates incomplete oxidation or reduction.	Colour source: Reduced iron minerals and carbon smudging.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: None	Sex markers: None	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Angled
Decorations: None	Facial features: Nose	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Possible smudging.	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			


Figurine #165, British Museum #1880.3124			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 6.8 cm	Firing atmosphere: Grey indicates incomplete oxidation or reduction.	Colour source: Reduced iron minerals and carbon smudging.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: Pellet eyes	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Some smudging possible.	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments: This violin shape is rare in this collection but common around the world.			

Figurine #166, British Museum #1958.1111.4			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Donated by Col. D. H. Gordon	Findspot: Sar Dheri	Date: 1 st century BC to 2 nd century AD
Height: 9.7 cm	Firing atmosphere: Grey indicates incomplete oxidation or reduction.	Colour source: Reduced iron minerals and carbon smudging.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: Nose	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Possible smudging.	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #167, British Museum #1967.0221.11.1			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Funded by Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Sahri Bahlol	Date: 4 th -3 rd century BC
Height: 6.8 cm	Firing atmosphere: Grey indicates incomplete oxidation or reduction.	Colour source: Reduced iron minerals and carbon smudging.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: Line across neck Lines across chest	Facial features: Nose	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Possible smudging.	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #168, British Museum #1880.3125			
Collector: Col. D. R. Martin	Donor: Purchased from Brooke Sewell Permanent Fund in 1967	Findspot: Peshawar	Date: 2 nd -1 st century BC
Height: 5.1 cm	Firing atmosphere: Grey indicates incomplete oxidation or reduction.	Colour source: Reduced iron minerals and carbon smudging.	Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Hips	Leg division: Joined	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: None	Completion: Complete	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Possible smudging.	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.		Picture source: Taken by author	
Comments:			

Figurine #169, British Museum #1880.1513			
Collector: Col. D. H. Gordon	Donor: Mrs. Gordon	Findspot: Akhkari Dheri	Date: 3 rd -2 nd century BC
Height: 5.1 cm		Manufacturing/assembly: Hand modelled	Colour:
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Breasts	Leg division:	Arms: Perpendicular
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Upper arms -Head -Lower arms - Abdomen -Legs	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: None	Deposits: None	
			
Picture source: British Museum.			
Comments:			

Figurine #170, British Museum #1958.1017.2			
Collector: Not listed.	Donor: Donated by Douglas Eric Barrett.	Findspot: Ter	Date: 3 rd century AD
Height: 5.1 cm	Firing atmosphere: Light grey colour suggests incomplete oxidation or reduction.	Colour source: Colour is from firing atmosphere.	Manufacturing/assembly: Moulded
Sex: Female	Sex markers: Female genitalia Breasts	Leg division: Separated	Arms: No arms
Decorations: None	Facial features: No head	Completion: +Chest +Abdomen +Legs -Head -Arms	Decay: None
Similar figurines:	Coatings: Purple colour may be paint.	Deposits: None	
 <p>Picture source: British Museum.</p>		Comments:	